

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

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- ART. I.—1. *Charge delivered by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, at his Triennial Visitation, held in August, 1844.* London: Rivington.
2. *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales.* By WILLIAM DANSEY, M. A. *Prebendary of Salisbury, Rural Dean.* London: Rivington. 1844. Second Edition.
3. *Rural Synods.* By the Vicar of Morwenstow, Cornwall. London: Edwards and Hughes; Burns. 1844.

A REVIVAL of discipline is now actively going on within the Church of England. The clergy and laity are no longer contented with the performance of divine service in their churches, and the legal regularity of ecclesiastical duties; they are not satisfied with the laborious ingenuity of those who think that by the intricate and uncouth verbiage of Acts of Parliament the Church will be adapted to the exigencies of the times, and rendered capable of withstanding her enemies, and satisfying all the wants of her flock. The insufficiency of modern legislation, and the mere administration of property for the attainment of those great ends, has now become an undeniable proposition in the eyes of all but pedants or superficial reasoners. Instead of confining themselves to these things, Churchmen now inquire into the origin and nature of institutions which have long been neglected as antiquated rubbish, or at least as no longer required in these enlightened times. They look back to ancient experience, instead of relying on their own inventive powers. They no longer suppose that to the present generation was reserved the faculty of intuitively knowing all the arcana of ecclesiastical policy and government; and they see the danger of wounding, by experiments and new inventions, principles which have their roots deep in the Divine institutions of the Church.

We look upon Mr. Dansey's book with peculiar interest, as an indication of this improved state of public opinion and feeling in ecclesiastical affairs. A few years ago such a book would have been considered a mere matter of antiquarian curiosity. Sylvanus Urban would have made honourable mention of it, and it would have lain on the table of the Society of Antiquaries beside a broken pot or a pair of rusty spurs, while the active men, carrying on the real business of the Church, would have turned away to an Act of Parliament, the report of a society, or papers printed by order of the House of Commons. But there is now no danger of its being neglected by practical men. It will be read and studied with a view to the revival of the institution of rural deaneries in all its completeness, and not as a mere record of what that institution was in former times. It will be read, not as a mere history of the past, but as affording practical knowledge for the future; and in that practical light we propose to bring before our readers the leading points of Mr. Dansey's book, and the chief principles and features of the institution and government of rural deaneries.

We must, however, begin by taking a somewhat wider range than the author of the *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales*, in order to enable the reader to form a distinct idea of the place which that institution occupies in the economy of the Church.

The office of the parochial clergy is held by the canonists to be of divine institution;* for, as the bishops represent the apostles, so the parochial clergy represent the seventy disciples. It is, however, clear, that during the first two centuries there were no separate titles or benefices, and no distinct parishes. The whole diocese of each bishop was governed and administered by the bishop as one parish, with the assistance of the body of his clergy who resided with him at his episcopal see. Thus the clergy formed an ecclesiastical senate, over which the bishop presided. They performed their functions under his direction, either in the town where he resided, or in the churches to which, from time to time, they were sent. Thus the bishop alone held a permanent office or benefice; and the revenues of the Church, which consisted in the alms and offerings of the faithful, were received by him, and he distributed them amongst priests, deacons, and inferior clergy, and the poor. Moreover, he did nothing of importance without the advice of his clergy. He was the president and supreme head of the assembly of the clergy. Thus the Fourth Council of Carthage says, "*Ut Episcopus in Ecclesia et consensus Presbyterorum sublimior sedeat;*"† and St. Ignatius says, "*Omnes episcopum sequimini ut Christus*

* Van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Univ.* par. i. tit. iii. cap. 1, *passim*.

† Decret. Dist. 95. Can. 10.

Patrem, et Presbyterorum Collegium ut Apostolos." "Et Diaconos revereamini ut ex Dei præcepto administrantes." "Sine Episcopo nemo quidquam faciat eorum quæ ad Ecclesiam spectant." But the same St. Ignatius calls the body of the clergy *consistorium sacrum, conciliarios et assessores Episcopi*;* and in the passage cited above he speaks of them as the College of Apostles; and St. Jerome says, "Et nos habemus in Ecclesia senatum nostrum, cætum Presbyterorum."†

We dwell upon these passages because they refer to very important principles of ecclesiastical polity, which have a direct bearing on our subject. They show the character of the authority exercised by the bishops in the early Church. That authority was essentially different from the authority exercised by temporal sovereigns and civil rulers; and this distinctive character is clearly referred to in the Scriptures as essential to the government of the Church instituted by divine authority. We mean a character of moderation and deliberative prudence totally different from tyranny, or even mere despotism,—a combination of monarchical authority with humility and gentleness, which leads the ruler to distrust his own judgment and seek the advice of others, and to avoid the display of power. It is from analogous principles that the laws of the Church have ever been called not laws, nor edicts—but *canons*, or rules.

The chief persons in the assembly, or ecclesiastical senate, after the bishop, were the archpresbyter or archpriest, and the archdeacon. They were the heads of the two orders of priests and deacons, and usually held their offices by right of seniority of ordination.‡ The archpriest officiated in the absence of the bishop, and acted as his representative, while the archdeacon was entrusted with the chief management of the funds of the Church. Such are the leading features of the constitution of the Church in the first three centuries.

In the fourth century the increase of the Church, which spread from the cities into the provinces and rural districts, rendered a change necessary. The bishop and his clergy could no longer satisfy the wants of their growing flock. We accordingly find that particular priests were appointed to perform spiritual duties in specified districts away from the bishop's see, and thus only a part of the clergy remained with the bishop, the remainder being scattered about in different parts of the diocese.

* Συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—Philadel. viii. Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων.—Magn. vi.

† Van Esp. eod. tit. viii. cap. i. § 1, p. 119.

‡ Fleury, Inst. au Droit Eccles. tom. i. c. xviii. p. 160. Van Esp. par. i. tit. vii. cap. i. p. 167.

Out of this change arose the institution of Chapters; for the bishops chose certain persons among the clergy to perform the duties of counsellors, which had formerly belonged to the whole body. But that selection was not fully introduced before the tenth or eleventh century.* Previously to that time, the clergy in the immediate vicinity of the bishop's throne formed his ordinary council, by whose advice he always acted, unless the importance of the matter to be determined required the convocation of a diocesan synod.

The rise of monastic institutions had an important effect on the bodies of secular clergy. In the fourth century, St. Eusebius, travelling through Egypt, saw in that country a community of anchorets living under an abbot, and having all things in common. He was subsequently elected Bishop of Vercelli, in Italy, and he instituted in that city a society of clergy resembling the lay association which he had seen in Egypt, including the archpriest, the archdeacon, and a decanus, or dean. St. Augustine, who at that time taught rhetoric at Milan, heard of this new foundation, and when he became Bishop of Hippo, introduced the monastic mode of life among the clergy of that Church. These two great men thus founded the institution of Canons Regular,† whose constitution was afterwards formed and settled by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle and St. Crodogang.

The societies of canons regular were no more than the adaptation of the ancient episcopal communities to the monastic or ascetic life. The ascetics were chiefly devoted to the contemplative life and the ascetic practices of devotion. To these the canons regular added the discharge of those active duties which belonged to the ecclesiastical senate of the diocese, and the ordinary council of the bishop, preserving their ancient dignities, the archpriest and the archdeacon; the latter of whom, however, was usually not a deacon according to the primitive institution of the office, but a priest set over the deacons, and performing the functions of the ancient archdeacon.

From this combination of the monastic system with the ancient ecclesiastical assemblies, arose the introduction of the title of Decanus, or Dean, into the latter. The decanus was originally a chief of ten monks; the subdivision of the anchorets being necessary in the Egyptian monasteries, which were composed of very great numbers of brothers.‡ But the decanus, or dean, of the capitular bodies was the same person as the archpriest, and presided over those assemblies as the

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. viii. cap. i. § 2, p. 119.

† Ibid. tit. vii. cap. i. addit. p. 91, 92.

‡ Reg. Sti Benedicti, cap. 21.

representative of the bishop. He was the head of the priests, and the vice-bishop over them. From these cathedral archpriests and deans were derived the rural archpriests or deans.

While the system of the three first centuries existed, there was but one archpriest, as there was but one bishop, which Van Espen shows from a passage of St. Jerome.* The multiplication of the faithful, however, brought about a change in this respect.

The cathedral archpriest could not preside over the whole clergy of the diocese distributed about an extensive tract of country; archpriests were therefore appointed to preside over and direct the clergy in the rural districts. Those officers were called rural archpriests or rural deans. Their functions consisted in the same superintendence over the clergy of the district which was exercised by the cathedral archpriests over the clergy immediately around the bishop.

It is remarkable that after the establishment of the parochial clergy the same system was carried out among them which had existed in the earlier ages. The bishop, in the first centuries, himself directly governed all his clergy. When they increased in numbers he was assisted by the archpriest. When they still further increased, rural archpriests were instituted. The rural archpriest was a vice-bishop—the representative of the bishop in his rural deanery, as the cathedral or urban archpriest was the representative of the bishop and vice-bishop over the urban clergy. Thus the jurisdiction of the bishop was carried by representation into every part of his diocese. Every rural deanery was a diocese in miniature, but without injuring the unity of the authority vested in the bishop, from whom all the ecclesiastical jurisdiction emanated. The rural archpriest was still not the ordinary, but the officer of the bishop, and responsible to him as the great and supreme governor of the Church. These principles are to be found in Canon XII. of the Council of Ravenna, held in the year 904, the text of which (given by Van Espen) we will lay before our readers.

“*Ut singulæ plebes archipresbyterum habeant: propter assiduam erga populi Dei curam singulis plebibus archipresbyteri præesse volumus qui non solum imperiti vulgi sollicitudinem gerant verum etiam eorum presbyterorum qui per minores titulos habitant, vitam jugi circumspectione custodiant, et qua unusquisque industria divinum opus exerceat, Episcopo suo renuncient, ne obtendat Episcopus non egere plebem archipresbytero. Quod si ipse gubernare valeat qui est valde idoneus, decet tamen ut partiat onera sua, et sicut ipse matri-*

* *Epist. ad Rusticum.*

præest, ita presbyteri præsent plebibus ut in nullo titubet ecclesiastica sollicitudo." "Cum tamen ad Episcopum referunt ne aliquid contra ejus decretum adicere presumant." *

A remarkable point in this canon is, that the bishop is required to appoint archpriests even *si ipse gubernare valeat*. The canon says, *decet tamen ut partiatur onera sua*. The policy of the Church has ever been, that the bishop should not be overwhelmed with business. The contemplative part of the pontifical character has ever been a matter of solicitude to the ancient councils and fathers. The bishop is the Vicar of Christ. The holy serenity of the pontifical office must, indeed, be maintained; and the bishop must, therefore, be protected from a distressing and engrossing pressure of duties, which would necessarily disturb that serenity, interfere with his practices of contemplation and devotion, and render him unable to exercise his paternal solicitude towards both his clergy and his laity. "*Decet ut partiatur onera sua*." Thus, in the early ages, the bishop shared the burthens of his office with his whole clergy, and afterwards the law provided him with a variety of officers, whose duty it was to alleviate the burthen of his arduous functions. Under this point of view the institution of rural deans is especially important. It is not merely a matter of convenience for local government, but it has a bearing on the maintenance of the episcopal office in its full sacredness and majesty. And here the reader has an instance of the way in which details of ecclesiastical government, which seem to be mere matters of convenience, are intimately connected with great principles. This shows how important the study of principles is in ecclesiastical public law and government. The study of principles is very important in temporal affairs; but it is still more so in spiritual government, for this reason—because the standard of spiritual government is far higher than any human practice. That standard is to be sought in abstract truth, because experience must fall short of its excellence. It must be discovered by the investigation of principles *à priori*, and not by experience and practice, though experience and practice are necessary for the safe application of those principles to any given state of circumstances. Yet we constantly see ecclesiastical legislation carried on, not only without investigation of principles, but without the guidance of experience. We see contrivances devised *pro re natâ*, by mere ingenuity. May the Church be speedily delivered from such crude and dangerous innovations! But let us return to our subject.

Mr. Dansey has collected the chief authorities relating to the

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. i. addit. p. 83.

distinction between urban or cathedral archpriests and rural archpriests, and we will now lay them before the reader as a specimen of the industry of the learned author.

“ ‘Urbani dicuntur, (in the words of Duarenus,) qui in urbe et in majori ecclesia officio suo funguntur. Cum enim episcopus propter absentiam forte vel occupationes suas non possit omnia episcopi munia vel solus vel una cum presbyteris obire, sed curas suas cum eis partiri necesse habeat; utilius visum est ex presbyteris unum cæteris præponere qui ea quæ ad presbyterorum officium pertinent partim ipse exequatur partim aliis facienda prescribat; quam omnibus simul presbyteris id committere ne contentio aliqua inter ipsos ex communione administrationis orietur. . . . Archipresbyteri vicani nullam in urbe potestatem nullum ministerium habent sed in majoribus celebrioribusque pagis constituuntur. Ac singulis præter ecclesiæ propriæ curationem certarum ecclesiarum certorumque presbyterorum qui videlicet per majores titulos habitant, inspectio, observatioque committitur.’ See also Morin. de Sacris Ordinationibus, par. iii. Exercit. xvi. cap. ii. 23, p. 215. Boehmer. Jus. Eccles. Protestant, tom. i. lib. i. tit. xxiv. pp. 582-3. And Morisan. de Protopapis, cap. vii. p. 104, where the twofold distinction is extended to the Greek as well as to the Latin Church :—‘quemadmodum in occidentali ecclesia archipresbyterorum duo genera erant quorum alii quidem quos *urbanos* dicebant cathedralibus ecclesiis incardinati essent; alii vero quos *rurales rusticos forenses paganos vicanos* cognominabant pagorum presbyteris post sublatum præsertim usum chorepiscoporum ita mandato episcopi præessent ut plebis capita parochique constituerentur: haud secus in ecclesia Græcâ præter cathedralium *protopapas* seu primos post episcopum in ecclesia cathedrali presbyteros in numeri occurrunt horum *protopapæ* et plebium *curiones*.’

“ The distinction here made is the popular one generally received; but Bishop Kennett’s is somewhat different,* though he refers to Duarenus as his authority. Severing altogether the cathedral archipresbyters from the deans rural of his interesting episode, the parochial antiquary says of the latter, These deans were constituted over a certain number of churches within a large city, and were then called *decani urbani* and *vicani*, or else over the like extent of country churches, and were then strictly called *decani rurales*. Gibson, too,† applies *urbani* in the same limited sense to the exclusion of cathedral deans, but *vicani* he uses as a synonyme of *rurales*.

“ Upon this view, the reader will perceive that urban and vicani deans were merely rural deans set over parochial churches and their incumbents *in urbe* or *in vico*, distinct from cathedral deans, whose presidency was only over persons. But I prefer the popular notion of Bishop Atterbury (no very high authority in these matters), because it is supported by the *Summa Silvestrina*, fol. xxxix. (which makes the archipresbyter civitatis the same as *ecclesiæ cathedralis qui alio nomine dicitur decanus*), and by such learned canonists as

* Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 339.

† Codex I. E. A. tit. xlii. cap. viii.

Cardinal Hortiensis, Panormitan, Lyndwood, Augustin Barbosa, Ferro Manrique, Galganetti, Van Espen, Molanus, and others, as well as the above cited author, *De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis ac Beneficiis*.

"To quote only a few: 'Est autem duplex archipresbyter,' writes Augustin Barbosa,* 'unus *urbanus*, et alius *ruralis* seu *foraneus*: *urbanus* est qui in urbe degens dignitati præest cathedrali, vel collegiatâ ecclesiâ; *ruralis* vero seu *foraneus* qui ruri ecclesiæ præest parochiali seu plebanâ . . . et hic proprie videtur dici decanus . . . non quod necessario decem præesse debeat sed quia facta translatione et perfectione denarii numeri, decanus solet appellari omnis ille qui alicujus ordinis primus et præcipuus est.'

"'Archipresbyteri sunt in duplici differentia,' says Ferro Manrique, 'alii namque dicuntur civitatenses . . . alii autem rurales seu plebani . . . archipresbyter *ruralis* seu *plebanus* sollicitudinem plebanâ suæ tam in rusticos tam in sacerdotes in divinis et vitæ circumspeditione gerant.'

"Molanus having noticed the archipresbyteri civitatenses, subjoins: 'Reliqui vero pastores pastorum usitate dici solent decani rurales vel decani Christianitatis: sed hodie archipresbyteri suarum regionum dici malunt.'

"To speak in the phrase of the present age,' § says the scrupulous pastor of Great Badworth, 'the urban we may call cathedral deans, the vican, deans rural.'

"From these brief but sufficient definitions and explanations of the archipresbyteral duties, the reader will understand, *in limine*, their distinction, nature, and character; though our present business is only with the titles of the office, not with its duties.

"Of the first here defined, the urban, or cathedral archpriest, his origin and office, it is foreign to my office to say anything otherwise than as sharing with his more humble namesake the title of archipresbyter and decanus, or assimilating, in some of his functions, with his vical representative." ||

We must here remark that our author has confined himself too strictly to the subject of rural deans. We have shown that those officers are derived from the urban, or cathedral archpriests; and, without examining the origin and nature of the latter officers, it is impossible to form a comprehensive and clear idea of the precise position which rural deaneries occupy in the scheme of the church's constitution. It is indeed dangerous to separate the study of any one ecclesiastical institution from the consideration of the portions of the constitution of the Church to which it properly belongs. All the parts of the system fit together with such nicety, and all are pervaded by

* Barbos. de Canon. et Dignitat. cap. vi. p. 64, de Archipresbyteris.

† D. M. F. Manrique de Præcedentiis et Prælationibus Ecclesiasticis, Quæst. vi. p. 36. i.

‡ Molan. de Canonicis, lib. ii. c. viii. p. 157.

§ Ley's Defensive Doubts, p. 44. || Horæ Decaniæ Rurales, vol. i. pp. 8-13.

such extensively ramified principles and theories, that no portion of it can be really understood if considered by itself. This defect of Mr. Dansey's plan we have endeavoured to supply, so as to put the reader in possession of the general information required for the thorough comprehension of the subject. Having done this, we will, in future, endeavour to adhere more to the plan of Mr. Dansey's work.

The learned writer is of opinion that the first assistants of the diocesan bishops were the chorepiscopi, or villan bishops, mentioned in the Tenth Canon of the Council of Antioch, and he argues that the rural deans succeeded to those prelates. We, however, prefer the opinion of Van Espen and Hericourt, who consider the history of the rural archpriests, or rural deans, to be unconnected with that of the chorepiscopi. It seems, indeed, natural, that when the numbers of the clergy increased, and they spread over the country, the same system whereby the bishop was assisted in his government in the city, should be extended to the agrarian districts. In the city where the bishop resided he was assisted by the archpriest, as the head of the order of priests; and it was most natural that an officer of the same nature should be appointed to perform the same duties in the country. And it is to be observed that the office of the rural archpriest could not clash with that of the chorepiscopus, any more than that of the cathedral archpriest could with that of the bishop. The chorepiscopus was a subordinate bishop, under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop, and having a limited territory within the diocese; and the rural archpriest was the chief of the priests within his deanery, as the cathedral archpriest was the chief of the priests in the episcopal city.

We, however, admit, that while the institution of chorepiscopi was in full vigour, the rural deans necessarily were less conspicuous and important than they became after the suppression of the former.

Van Espen, in commenting on the Tenth Canon of the Council of Antioch, holds that the chorepiscopi were probably originally real bishops, having the same authority over their dioceses which the bishops in the cities enjoyed over theirs, and differing from the latter only in respect of the inferiority of those dioceses. He believes that when the Church increased in extent, its government followed the temporal government, and thus the bishops of cities assumed a supremacy and jurisdiction over the lesser bishops presiding over small towns and rural districts.* In the same way the bishop of a metropolis or capital sometimes acquired the prerogatives of a metropolitan, or arch-

* Van Esp. Schol. in Canon. Antioch, Can. x. Op. omn. tom. vi. p. 502.

bishop, over the bishops of a province. This theory certainly renders the history of the chorepiscopi intelligible. And there may also have been cases where a chorepiscopus was appointed as an inferior bishop within a diocese, and originally under the authority of the diocesan bishop. These obscure questions of ecclesiastical history are, however, not matters of great importance, because no principle depends on their solution; we will, therefore, no longer dwell on them, but proceed.

Mr. Dansey learnedly establishes that in England the British Church underwent the same process of development which we have described above; the bishops at first living in common with their clergy, and afterwards establishing parochial divisions, and parish priests, in the eighth century.

“How soon after the organization of the parochial clergy on this new footing *archpresbyters* were appointed to overlook them and their flocks, it is difficult to determine. Scope is afforded for the commencement of their inspectional services in aidance of the bishop at the date referred to; but it does not appear that they were carried into being until more than two centuries after. At least no church-record affords any tidings of them, within the writer's knowledge, in our own islands.

“In France, the first foundation of parish churches, and ordinary cures, was much earlier than in England; and so also was the vican archipresbyteral institution of higher antiquity in the former than in the latter country. In French Councils and Capitularies mention is made of rural parishes and priests in the fifth century, and of archpriests in the sixth.

“But probable as it is that the whole machinery of the Gallican Church police would speedily find its way into Britain from the constant intercourse between the two countries, such does not appear to have been the case as to this particular department of spiritual office. The system of country *archpresbyterates*, or *decanates*, with their attached superintendents, does not appear among us until the eleventh century; owing, perhaps, to the multitude of our first parochial divisions, and paucity of distinct congregations and incumbencies, which, for a time, called not for such appointments. Besides, such as they were, they were visited every year by the highest ecclesiastical officer. The bishops annually went about their dioceses in order to an inquiry and correction of miscarriages; visiting, parochially, every church, and manse, and pastor, and flock. They visited, indeed, before the division of parishes at all. The Council of Clovishoe, under Archbishop Cuthbert, orders diocesans to visit their *parochiæ* (dioceses) once a year, and to teach the people of all conditions, and of both sexes, *utpote eos qui raro audiunt verbum Dei*; prohibiting all pagan observances, &c. (Can. iii.); and the same injunction is repeated in the Council of Celceyth (A.D. 735). After the division of parishes, annual episcopal visitations continued to be parochially made, as appears from the Constitutions of Archbishop Odo (A.D. 943, Can. iii.),

the bishops going about their dioceses every year, and vigilantly preaching the word of God.

"While, then, Church discipline was thus supported by the diocesan in his own person through the whole *parochia*, we have no reason to expect the introduction of any official deputies; and none, accordingly, are found between the bishop and presbyter with any office or jurisdiction in the diocese at large. By degrees, however, the ecclesiastical condition of the country changed, and the spiritual government of the faithful became too arduous for one episcopal overseer or visitor to manage. Parishes originally coextensive with the largest manorial limitations, commensurate, as I have said already, with our modern rural deaneries, were again and again subdivided, till at last they reached the comparatively small bounds, and multiplied distinctions, which now, for the most part, obtain. Every new proprietor, by grant, or purchase, of a partitioned lordship, was naturally desirous of a new place of worship, a resident minister, a parochial circuit proper to his own estate; accommodations which the diocesan pastor liberally ceded for the advancement of Christianity."*

This account of the origin of parochial churches in England is particularly interesting. It shows the historical grounds of that intimate connexion between the Church and the natural aristocracy of the country—the feudal proprietors of the soil—the effect of which has been most valuable to both. It also shows the nature of rights of presentation or advowson. Those rights are now too much considered and treated as mere property, to be bought, and sold, and disposed of, like other property; but we are taught by history, and by all the writers on ecclesiastical law, that they are held by their possessors as the representatives of those founders and benefactors to whom they were granted by the gratitude of the ancient Church, not for purposes of emolument, but as a sacred and honourable trust, and an everlasting pledge of that gratitude. But we will return to our author.

After describing the great increase of churches which, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, was a subject of complaint, because it impoverished the older foundations, he continues as follows:—

For "To reduce and preserve the multiplied cures within the pale of discipline we may suppose that about this time (the reign of the Confessor) a certain number of incumbencies, or presbyterates, were thrown together, and constituted an archpresbyterate—*districtus archipresbyteri ruralis*—at the sole and arbitrary appointment of the bishop of the diocese; or as population thickened within the limits of the same, and new churches arose, that a certain number of contiguous cures, in classes of ten or more (the ecclesiastical in this matter

* *Horæ Decan. Rur.* vol. i. pp. 78—81.

copying the civil state) were severed off from the primary jurisdiction, and modelled into deaneries; or, in other words, dioceses were broken into archpresbyterates, and then again remodelled into decanates, and placed by the diocesan under the vicarious tutelage of deans rural, who still preserved, in ecclesiastical language, the title of archpriests. 'Archipresbyteri dicti videntur Decani,' says Morinus; 'eo quod antiquitus dioceses erant per decanias divisæ quibus præerant archipresbyteri; ut videre est in capitul. Carol. Calv. iii. t. iii. Conc. Gall.'"*

We cannot concur with the hypothesis of our author, which would make rural deaneries inferior archpresbyterates, or subdivisions of archpresbyterates, for of this we see no sufficient evidence. And, indeed, Mr. Dansey himself, in a note to the passage extracted above, adds: "Or the archpresbyterate may represent Bishop Stillingfleet's primary parochial division or section of the diocese corresponding to the modern rural deanery."

As for the supposition (which our author himself discourages, at p. 100) that the name of decanus, or dean, was derived from the civil state, we have already shown that that title was introduced into the Church by the monastic institutions of the third and fourth centuries. It must, therefore, have been perfectly well known as the title of an ecclesiastical office when the English dioceses were subdivided; and it is, consequently, needless to seek for any other origin, especially as we know that monastic bodies existed on a very extensive scale in the British Church. With respect to the time when the arrangement of rural deaneries took place in England, Mr. Dansey believes it to have been the middle of the eleventh century, if not earlier.†

With regard to the right of election of the rural dean, it is vested, by the Common Law of the Church,‡ together with the power of removing him from office, in the bishop and the archdeacon. "Quia cum ab omnibus quod omnes tangit approbari debeat et commune eorum decanus officium exerceat, communiter est eligendus, vel etiam amovendus." Mr. Dansey, however, shows elaborately and learnedly that the law in this respect varied at different times and places. He informs us that in the West, the archpresbyters were originally chosen by their own clergy, subject to the bishop's confirmation; and he cites the Seventh Canon of the second Council of Tours (A.D. 567), providing that when their election had been ratified by the diocesan, they could not be removed by him without the consent of the electors.§ Still, however, it is to be remembered, that the archpresbyter, or rural-dean, always was the bishop's officer,

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 84.

† Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 85.

‡ X. c. 7. Tit. de Officio Archid. (Decret. Innocent III. A.D. 1214.)

§ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 112.

deriving from him all his jurisdiction. The election of that officer by any other persons must, therefore, be considered merely as the designation of a person by whom that delegated jurisdiction should be exercised. And this is the more evident as there is reason to believe, that in the ninth century the people, in some places on the continent, shared in the election of the rural archpresbyters. But to return to our own country. In the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, (1660,) the nomination of rural deans is recognised as vested in the bishop: "rural deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the bishop of the diocese." In the proceedings in Convocation about rural deans, A. D. 1710, the Upper House seems to have been desirous of restoring to district clergy the power of electing their rural deans, subject to episcopal confirmation alone; but they proposed that the rural deans should be appointed only for three years, unless the bishop should see cause to alter that term. The latter part of the projected Canon was pertinaciously resisted by the Lower House, who wished the archdeacon to share with the bishop jointly the power of removing rural deans.

As for decanal appointments in modern days, they are much influenced by local usages. There is no general rule of election and institution, and every diocese adheres to its own customs.

"In some places," says Mr. Dansey, "the mandate of election proceeds by the bishop's grant from the archdeacon alone, as (to quote from our insular usages) formerly in the diocese of Canterbury, and at one time, seemingly, in that of Lincoln; but others, from the bishop and the archdeacon jointly, that is, from the bishop, through the archdeacon, as now-a-days in the diocese of Exeter, where the clergy are the actual electors. In others, again, from the bishop alone, as in the dioceses of London, Bangor, Bath and Wells, Chester, Chichester, Ely, Hereford, Lichfield, Llandaff, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Winchester, Gloucester, and Bristol, St. Asaph's, St. David's, Worcester, and Salisbury; in the latter of which the office is, on the authority of our venerated diocesan himself, entirely dependent on the personal jurisdiction of the bishop, the archdeacon having nothing to do with the appointment, except so far as the bishop may desire him to mention the names of clergymen eligible to the duty, which has been occasionally done by the rural presbyters themselves, but in neither case with any power of nomination, as in official right. Such, likewise, was the constitution of the office in the days of Bishop Ward, and also in those of Bishop Fisher, in the diocese of Sarum. And yet to show how much the usages of the Church have varied at different periods, in relation to the economy of this office, even in the same diocese, we find traces of an opposite custom to that now prevalent, in the early constitutions of the diocese of Sarum. . . . Clearly showing that, in the days of Bishop Poore (A.D. 1222), and Bishop Bridport (A.D. 1256), the institution of deans rural was, partially at

least, a matter of archidiaconal concernment in our diocese. Nor, indeed, in that of Winchester has the act of appointing been always with the bishop, to the exclusion of the archdeacon, though in the present age the latter is no party to it.*

With respect to the duration of the office, we are informed by Mr. Dansey that it is held now in England generally *durante episcopi beneplacito*. In the diocese of Exeter it is an annual appointment, and in that of Winchester it is the same, in the instance of the older institution (still nominally kept up), while in the new foundation, under Bishop Sumner, it is of unlimited duration, as in the other dioceses of England.†

We recommend particular attention to the very judicious observations of our author on this part of the subject. He recommends that rural deans should not be annually changed, on the ground that an annual officer is not likely to be so efficient as one whose tenure is more permanent. The annual rural dean ceases to be in office at the very time when he has become fully acquainted with all the churches under his jurisdiction, and thoroughly used to his duties; besides which, he, in many instances, has not time to carry out and finish measures which he has commenced. He cannot acquire experience, which must be required for the thorough performance of the duties of an office of trust. These reasons are well worth consideration.

We will proceed now to a very important division of Mr. Dansey's book—that which relates to the functions of rural deans.

The Canonists call them *Pastores Pastorum*, because they have the care of all the clergy within their district.‡ They are vice-bishops within their deaneries, for the maintenance of discipline, and of the due performance of all ecclesiastical functions. But they are not *ordinaries* with respect to their clergy, as the parochial clergy are with respect to their parishioners. The rural deanery is a mere office, and neither a dignity nor a benefice, and its jurisdiction arises entirely by delegation from the bishop.§ These are the general principles regarding the functions of rural deans.

Bishop Gibson denies the right of parochial visitation to rural deans; but that learned prelate clearly refers only to visitation *as ordinary*, for our author abundantly shows, that rural deans have visited, as the bishops' delegates, for a thousand years, in every part of the Church. Van Espen, indeed, commences his chapter on the Visitation of Archpriests, by saying—

“As the archpriests are bound to superintend and watch over all the pastors and ecclesiastics in their districts, they must take notice

* *Hornæ Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 127—129.

† *Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. ii.* p. 83.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 156.

§ *Ibid.* p. 83.

whether any thing is neglected relating to the due government of the parishes subject to them, and the cure of souls: it is, therefore, evident, that the exact and frequent visitation of the parishes under their authority, is among the first duties of the archpriests, whereby they may acquire a knowledge of the parishes, and correct those things which require correction, or report them to the bishop. And, in all the synods, the archpriests are enjoined to visit every parish in their district, at least once in every year."*

This annual visitation seems to have been onerous to the clergy, who were bound to entertain the archdeacon and his attendants; and Mr. Dansey has collected some curious regulations of divers synods, limiting their liability in this respect, that the visitations might not be rendered less frequent, and also requiring the archpriests to visit in person and not by officials. Among the documents relating to this subject, not the least curious is an indulgence granted to the clergy of Berkshire, by Pope Alexander III. in the year 1271, exempting them, among other things, from presenting hounds and hawks to their archdeacon. We must not, however, necessarily infer that the archdeacons of Berks, in those days, were what would now be called "sporting characters," for hawks and hounds were, in the feudal days, used as part of the paraphernalia of rank and dignity, as well as for more obvious purposes, and the presents referred to were probably usual marks of respect to a superior.†

Mr. Dansey gives a very interesting account of the articles of inquiry, which rural deans were required to observe in their visitations, and we cannot refrain from laying before our readers one of these regulations, regarding the duties of foraneous vicars, made by St. Charles Borromeo, in the fifth Council of Milan, A.D. 1579. It demands that profound respect to which all the writings of that great saint are entitled. The foraneous vicars are to inquire:—

".... Qui parochorum in primis zelus in animarum salute procuranda; quæ in sacramentis ministrandis sedula diligentia; quam frequens in pascendis verbo Dei fidelibus officium; quæ denique in omnibus parochialis muneris partibus vigilantia quæve assiduitas. Quæ populi in Christianæ charitatis operibus exercitatio, quam religiosus festorum dierum cultus, quam pia in ecclesiis conversatio, quæ in doctrinæ Christianæ scholis frequentia: tum denique de reliqua omni ejusdem populi disciplina, et in via Domini progressu. Post videant qui singularum ecclesiarum præsertim parochialium status, an si quæ instau-

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. iii. p. 85.

† It may be noticed, however, that in the well-known case of Archbishop Abbot, the common lawyers cited the *Carta de Foresta*, and argued that the old custom by which a bishop's hounds were escheated to the crown, implied that he might use them. Spelman, however, denied the inference: and it does not seem a necessary conclusion that possession involves a personal use.

rationem desiderant; an debito cultu fraudantur; an sacris vestibus, ornamentis, suppellectileque ecclesiastica ad cultum necessaria instructæ sunt; an denique ulla ex parte incultæ.

"Postremo an si aliqua sint provincialium diöcesanarumque synodorum decreta et edicta, visitationum præscripta, aliæve episcopalia jussa quæ executionem non habent; quid item impedimenti aut difficultatis, aut denique causæ sit quamobrem eorum executioni non sit locus, &c."^a

This charge to the rural vicars of the diocese of Milan contains a beautiful summary of the duties of rural deans in their visitations, and of the species of superintending influence which they should exercise over their clergy, and the congregations entrusted to their care.

We come now to the synodical duties of rural deans. They were necessary attendants on episcopal synods, to report concerning matters within their inspection, and thence, according to Somner, Kennett, Atterbury, and others, they are called *Testes Synodales*, from the information communicated by them to the synod as witnesses. But it is necessary to observe that Gibson mentions other *Testes Synodales*, properly so called, who were persons appointed in each deanery to report to the synod whatever they thought worthy of animadversion.

The functions and influence of the rural deans in episcopal synods were formerly very important.

"The Canons of the Church," says Mr. Dansey, "vary in their injunctions as to the frequency of holding episcopal synods, (still existing, Bishop Stillingfleet tells us, under the type of diöcesan visitations,)[†] at which deans rural heretofore made their attestations and presentments. Once a year, at least, such a convention of the clergy, under their diöcesan (the most ancient form of synod, though not the most dignified) was assembled.

"At this council of the district, the rural deans of England were rightful coadjutors for deliberating on the affairs of the Church: and when duly constituted, the synod consisted of the bishop, as president, the cathedral deans, in the name of their collegiate body of presbyters, the archdeacons as deputies or proctors of their inferior order of deacons, and the rural deans, in the name of the parochial clergy, as the proper delegates and standing representatives of that body, to consult with the bishop upon all matters connected with the Church and its local discipline.[‡] 'Ut quæ ex ipsorum judicio reformatione opus habere comperientur communi consilio emendentur.'

"The number of these synods in each year varied as above stated, at different periods and places, once, twice, thrice—no general rule prevailed. Once, however, may be said to have been the most frequent usage.[§] In council assembled, the deans deli-

^a Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 193.

[†] Stillingf. Eccl. Cases, p. 2.

[‡] Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 363. SS. CC. tom. xix. col. 2292. Can. xviii.

[§] Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 215.

vered to the presiding bishop their acta visitationis, attesting the same by oath; and otherwise informed him orally, or by letter, of the temporal and spiritual circumstances of their respective decanates—particularly delivering to him formal presentments in scriptis of all that was amiss in the rural districts under their charge; and availing themselves of the opportunity of paying the several taxes due on account of the parochial clergy to the diocesan, of which imports, as we shall hereafter show, they were the official collectors. Such was the usual routine in obedience to the oft-repeated injunctions that bade them to be diligent in their delegate responsible overseership, and to report everything to the bishop. But when the matter of their presentment was urgent, and required immediate episcopal interference, they waited not for the slow formality of the periodical synod, but went at once with their complaint to the bishop in private, and received his instructions thereon.”*

We cannot but admire the ancient institution of diocesan synods. There the bishop sat in the midst of his clergy, *assisted by them* in the decision of the important affairs of the diocese. There, in the presence of the whole ecclesiastical parliament, the reports of the rural deans were made concerning the condition of each deanery. The clergy were thus made acquainted with the affairs of the whole diocese; they had the opportunity of consulting with their bishop, and with each other, and seeking whatever assistance they might require. The bishop, on the other hand, was enabled to act with the advice and concurrence of his priests, according to the ancient apostolical constitution of the Church,—not as a despot, or an autocrat, but with the mildness and the modesty of a christian prelate, who desires rather to find wisdom in the multitude of counsellors, than to indulge his own will by acting by his own unaided judgment. This is very different from the formality of a modern visitation, which consists in little besides hearing the bishop's charge after the morning prayers. But institutions have been allowed, in this and many other particulars, to dwindle down to mere form. Business is doubtless transacted more speedily, and with less trouble now when it is confined to a very few hands, than it was under the ancient system of diocesan government. But this is the common trite argument in favour of despotism; and it cannot stand for a moment against the undoubted fact that the autocratic form of Church government is directly contrary to the constitution of the Church in the first century, and even to the practice of the apostles themselves. Thus, however well a bishop may govern his flock under the modern system, that system cannot be really good and sound. We do not blame the bishops, for they take the system as they

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 218.

find it, but we feel confident that, in proportion to the advancement of ecclesiastical learning, the doctrine will more and more prevail that the bishop ought to govern *communi consilio presbyterorum*; that is to say, with the advice either of an ordinary council or chapter, or with that of his diocesan synod. But while we urge the importance of the bishop's council, we do not mean to deny that the real authority and jurisdiction is vested in him alone.

And this is an answer to the arguments of those who say that the form of government which we maintain to be orthodox, would practically constitute many bishops in every diocese instead of one. We do not say that the bishop is to be ruled by his clergy, but that he ought to seek their advice in all matters of importance, according to the ancient practice, and give all due weight and deliberate attention to that advice. Having received and considered that advice, it is for the bishop to act according to the dictates of his conscience and judgment; and he is bound by the opinion of his council only in those cases in which the law restrains him from acting without their consent.* Thus we recommend no republicanism in the Church. These observations naturally suggested themselves to our mind as being required in this place; but we will not engage our readers in a digression, however important at the present day.

The canon law requires the rural deans to act as overseers of the laity as well as the clergy. Van Espen says, "*Decani rurales laicorum suorum districtum mores diligenter observent.*"† And Dr. Kennett writes, that if any Christians lived in any open and scandalous sin, the deans were bound to reprove and admonish them.‡ But the rural deans by themselves, and apart from their chapters, appear to have had no power of punishing lay offenders. This head of their jurisdiction appears to have been confined to presenting or accusing offenders before the archidiaconal or episcopal courts. Whether the rural deans still possess this cognitional power in England, which the Anglican ecclesiastical law vests in churchwardens, quest-men, or synod-men, (vulgarly called sidesmen) is a question which Mr. Dansey does not discuss, but which we are inclined to decide in the affirmative. It is, however, of little practical importance to us, for in the present decayed state of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of the episcopal office itself, such a power could not be exercised with advantage in England. In fact, its exer-

* See Van Espen, par. i. tit. viii. cap. iv. § 5, p. 128, et ibi cit. S. Carol. Borrom. in Synod. Provinc. V. par. iii. c. 11. Resolut. S. Congreg. Cardinal. apud Piascum Prax. Episcoporum. par. ii. c. 3. n. 8.

† Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. c. 11.

‡ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 233. Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 354.

cise would produce an outcry, and be followed by the interference of parliament. We may safely assert this, for, as our readers are probably aware, a royal commission, composed of not only the highest temporal judges in the realm, but of archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical judges, and civilians, has lately unanimously recommended the total abolition of the correctional jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts over the laity,—and this recommendation has not been carried into effect only because it has been brought before parliament coupled with proposed enactments obnoxious in the House of Commons on temporal grounds, especially the abolition of the local testamentary jurisdictions.

In fact, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised professedly, *pro salute animarum*, has so totally lost its essential penitential character, and the episcopal office has become so exclusively confined to the administration of property and the superintendence of the clergy, and the performance of episcopal rites, that we cannot expect to see any useful discipline exercised by the Church over the laity in the present state of things. Perhaps a more apostolical state of the Church may obtain at a future time. Then the laity will be ready to submit to the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the civil magistrate to receive assistance from the spiritual power.

The first step towards this salutary change would be for the bishops to consider themselves more practically than they now do, the bishops of the laity as well as of the clergy. They are not only *pastores parochiarum*, but they are *pastores gregis*. They should, according to the real nature of their office, take the most prominent and authoritative part in everything that regards public morals, and all that belongs to the moral and religious government of the people. The bishop should not merely deliver a formal written charge to his clergy at his triennial visitation:—he should issue his pastoral letters to his laity whenever the interposition of his paternal authority appears to be required. Those letters should be solemnly read by the bishop in his cathedral, and published by the parish clergy at his command. In that solemn manner the father of the diocese would fulminate his censure and his holy indignation against the offences which the temporal law cannot, or at least cannot effectually suppress, and exhort the violators of the laws of Church and State to amendment and repentance. Sometimes he would give praise to those who have benefited religion, encouraging them to continue their labours, and others to imitate their virtue. Whenever any public scandal was proved, such as that which lately shocked all honest men in the collieries, where human creatures were degraded to the condition of beasts, the

bishop might seasonably exert his spiritual censorship, severely reproving the transgression of christian laws, and calling for immediate amendment and penitence.

The people would thus be taught by degrees to look upon the bishops as their spiritual pastors and teachers, not merely in theory, but really and practically. They would be led to consider the bishop as the spiritual *custos morum* of the diocese, and his throne as the great tribunal of christian morals and penitence. Some might, perhaps, be refractory, but the force of good sense and good principle would soon check them; and the proudest could not, without incurring ridicule, disdain an authority to which a Cæsar—the successor of Constantine—humbly submitted.

Then the true nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in causes of correction would come to be understood and realized: then the true penitential character of that jurisdiction would be felt and appreciated; and that jurisdiction would be exercised in a different manner and with a different spirit. It would be exercised as a part of the power of the keys, and not for the emolument of legal practitioners, nor for the indulgence of private animosities. It would become really what the canonists call *medicinal*, and not, as it now frequently is, vindictive. These results cannot be obtained until the episcopal office is fully understood; for from that office all ecclesiastical jurisdiction flows. When this great change has been brought about, the jurisdiction of rural deans over the laity may become a useful branch of ecclesiastical discipline. These reflections lead us naturally to the consideration of rural chapters, a very important and interesting branch of our subject.

Van Espen cites Canons of the Synods of Ipres, Malines, Cambray, and Namur, requiring the rural archpriests to call chapters of the clergy for the purpose of deliberating concerning the affairs of their district:—

“The object of these assemblies,” says the learned Canonist, “is that abuses, defects, and difficulties may be remedied or prevented, or that they may be accurately ascertained by mutual consultation; after which they must be reported to the bishop, and by his authority what is expedient must be established.”*

Mr. Dansey cites a Synod of Meath, held in 1216, earlier than those above mentioned, in which the following Canon was enacted:—

“Archipresbyteri (decanes rurales) per se aut per suos nuncios diligenter capitula ruralia convocari faciant in præcipuis locis decana-

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. iv. p. 87.

tuum de tribus septimanis in tres tenenda et aliquando extraordinarie ad voluntatem nostram si nobis visum fuerit aliquid in istis conventibus cum clero communicare. . . . In hisce capitulis ipsi præsint et moderentur tractatus cleri de communibus negotiis decanatum."*

The learned writer informs us that in the ancient canon law nothing is said about rural chapters; and that although continental councils and capitularies frequently notice monthly and other local meetings of the clergy, they more rarely mention rural chapters or decanal synods, properly so called. Such, however, occur in the Gallican Church, and he quotes examples in the archdiocese of Rheims, in the 9th century, and others of later date.

In our country there are traces of them in the ecclesiastical laws of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1052 (Canon iii.), and Lyndwood says:—

"Of these (rural) chapters, some are held from three weeks to three weeks; some, once in each quarter of the year, and these are called principal chapters, on account of the greater number of clergy attending them, and because more important affairs are therein transacted; but as they rest rather on the custom of this country than on the common law (*the canon law*), I omit any further notice of them."†

This passage is interesting, as it describes two classes of rural chapters in use in England; one held every three weeks, and the other once in every quarter.

Such assemblies are recommended to the clergy of their dioceses by Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, in the year 1350; and by Riculph, Bishop of Soissons; and so important were they in the eyes of St. Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg, in the tenth century, that he was used to interrogate the parochial clergy at the diocesan synod, whether, among other things, they were in the habit of regular attendance at the local kalendæ, or monthly rural meetings, and the performance of their duties as preachers at them.‡

Bishop Atto had in view the instruction of his clergy at their rural chapters:—

"We learn by experience," he says, "that good conferences are not less beneficial than reading. We therefore direct and establish that, in every district, all the priests or clergy shall meet once in the kalends of each month for the purpose of conferring together concerning faith, the holy Sacraments, matters of life and conversation, and all the duties incumbent upon them. And if it should happen that any one of them be found negligent or reprehensible, let him be

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 5, 6; *Lyndw. Provinc.*, lib. i. tit. ii. p. 14.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 8, 9.

corrected by the rest. But if he will not take care to amend, let them report the fact to his bishop, that he may speedily more severely correct him; that, when the diocese is visited by the bishop, and when they come to the synod, the disgrace of a few may not be reflected on the whole body." *

The assembling of the rural chapters in small villages seems to have been oppressive to the country clergy in England, and, accordingly, Archbishop Stratford, in the year 1342, enacted that they should be held in the *more eminent* places of the jurisdictions or deaneries; which put them on a more convenient, and, at the same time, more dignified footing. They, however, subsequently fell into disuse.

"A fruitless effort," says Mr. Dansey, "to revive monthly meetings of the rural deans and their respective clergy in England (under a new modification, the outline of which was probably derived from Archbishop Usher's Synodical Form of Church Government,) was made in the year 1660, by *his Majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs*. In the fifth Canon of that document it is enacted, 'that the rural dean, with three or four ministers of each deanery, chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once in every month, to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes; and also to compose all such differences betwixt party and party as shall be referred unto them by way of arbitration; and to convince offenders, and to reform all such things as they find amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, if they may be so reformed: and such matters as they cannot, by this pastoral and persuasive way, compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for and presented to the bishop; at which meeting any other ministers of that deanery may, if they please, be present and assist,' &c."

And this, our author informs us, is the last evidence of such associations in England.†

Let us now pause and consider these assemblies with reference to the principles of ecclesiastical public law and the practice of remote antiquity.

We have seen that the rural archpriests or rural deans were originally a sort of vice-bishops within their deaneries. As the Church spread itself from the episcopal cities to the whole expanse of the agrarian districts, the bishops became unable to extend their pastoral vigilance over their entire flock; the rural archpriests, therefore, represented the bishops as spiritual viceroys, and carried the apostolical office, by vicarious delegation, into the remotest corners of the diocese.

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 8. Capitulæ Attonis, c. xxix. in Oper. par. ii. p. 275, edit. Vercell. 1768.

† Ib. pp. 19, 20.

We have seen that the bishop and his clergy, in the first ages, were one body, administering the affairs of the diocese by their mature deliberation, and assisting each other by their learning, their experience, and their piety, under the supreme authority of the pontifical office. The clergy in the rural districts, far from the mother Church, were prevented from participating in this system of government. They were governed by the rural archpresbyters, the vicegerents of the bishop in the country, as the urban or cathedral archpresbyters were in the city.

In this manner the principle of ecclesiastical government by the bishop *communi consilio presbyterorum* is faithfully carried out by the rural dean (the bishop's villan representative) administering his deanery with his chapter. Thus the rural deanery presents a similitude of a diocese governed after the system of the primitive Church,—the dean representing the bishop, and the rural chapter or decanal synod representing the clergy forming the ecclesiastical senate. The dean administers the province allotted to him, presiding in the midst of his clergy, hearing their deliberations, assisting them with his advice,—receiving and maturely weighing theirs,—conferring with them on his and their duties,—encouraging and honouring the good, and correcting such as are deserving of blame. All this is done subject to the supreme judgment of the bishop and his chapter. How harmonious is this scheme! How complete in all its parts!—how conformable to the apostolical doctrines! And yet all this harmony and ancient wisdom has been allowed to decay, and become obscure, neglected, and unknown. There is much to do here besides building new churches! The rulers of the Church say much of *reforming*; it is high time to think of *restoring*. But let us proceed to examine rural chapters more in detail:—

“Different dioceses of the continent held their periodical sessions of the rural clergy at different times; but the *quarterly* and *menstrual* types were rarely both observed in one and the same continental diocese, whatever distinctions may have prevailed at home.

“Where both obtained, whether in England or abroad, it may be said that the quarterly were deemed competent to the discussion and decision of matters of rural church polity above the cognizance of the menstrual capitula, and were more fully attended by the district clergy in consequence. They were called, according to Lyndwood, *principalia capitula propter majorem confluentiam cleri et quia in iis de negotiis arduioribus tractari consuevit*. While ordinary matters were transacted at the menstrual assemblies, difficult cases stood over to the quarterly sessions. Nor is it improbable that the latter were courts of appeal from the verdict of the minor and more frequent curiæ.

“The jurisdiction of both, like that of the rural dean in his indivi-

dual capacity, was for the most part voluntary : but it will hereafter appear, that by delegation or otherwise, the chapters exercised at one time considerable contentious jurisdiction as *Curie Christianitatis*.

"However, not to bewilder the reader or myself at present, let it suffice that the rural capitula in general, whether monthly, quarterly, or occasional, had the same objects in view—the advancement of religion and the interests of the Church, and the detection and suppression of vice within the sphere of their influence and rule. Such was their main design ; and bearing this in mind, we will proceed (after a few preliminary remarks upon the costume of the clergy on these occasions) to the various subjects with which rural chapters in general were properly and at all times conversant ; deferring to our pages those which fell under their cognizance only incidentally and occasionally, and formed no essential part of their original institution."*

Such is the plan which Mr. Dansey chalks out for himself. We cannot follow him into all the details of this intricate branch of the subject; we will, therefore, confine ourselves to the leading points.

The rural chapters were eminently useful as a means of promulgating and publishing recent decrees of provincial and diocesan synods, and also of keeping alive the observance of important ecclesiastical laws by their public recitation before the assembled clergy. A more effectual method of attaining these ends it is difficult to devise.† Moreover, when a canon was read in the chapter, any of the assembled clergy had an opportunity of obtaining advice and explanation respecting any matter arising thereon. It might also happen that some modification of the canon, or in the mode of carrying it into effect, might seem expedient. In such a case the clergy had it in their power to take the matter into mature consideration, and after fully deliberating thereon, to make their opinion known to their bishop, and if necessary to petition the next diocesan or provincial synod.

In our days there are no synods and no canons to publish. This is, therefore, for the present a matter of no immediate practical use. We, however, recommend our readers to look beyond the present imperfect state of church discipline, and to observe how many are the uses to which this institution of rural chapters may be made subservient. It is a portion of a very complete system, every branch of which is nicely adapted to the purposes of the whole ; so that the more the system is completed and brought into operation, the more numerous will be the uses which every part thereof may be made to fulfil.

Another object of rural chapters was to enable the deans to

* *Horræ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 23.

† *Ibid.* par. v. ch. ii.

obtain from the congregated clergy a perfect knowledge of the moral and religious condition of their decanates, and devise measures for correcting defaults therein, or reporting them to the bishop.

"At these chapter meetings in general, from the date of their origin to that of their decay, reports were delivered of whatever was amiss in the respective parishes of the assembled ministers, in the economy of their churches or the manners of the clergy and their people; the priesthood being especially urged to tender such presentments in regard to the laity subject to their cure, and the deans or their apparitors in reference to the rectors, vicars, capillanes and other ministers.

"These subjects were entertained by the dean and chapter for the most part without the intervention of judicial process. They were discussed as in a deliberative assembly, and the ecclesiastical councillors advised such alterations and amendments as the circumstances of each case required; or if necessary, they reported the case to the bishop. But their jurisdiction ended not here;—the court had power, it seems, in some dioceses, of enforcing its proceedings judicially, without any previous reference to the bishop. It could render valid its decrees by compulsion; being authorized so to do by permanent delegation of the diocesan."*

Mr. Dansey informs us that the use of decanal chapters as courts of information and reformation was not confined to Great Britain, and that it obtained likewise abroad. In support of this statement he cites the synods of Cambray (1586), Antwerp (1590), Bois-le-Duc (1612), and St. Omer (1583). But the most important document cited by him on this subject is from the first provincial council of Milan, held in the year 1565, by the illustrious St. Charles Borromeo. In it the whole economy of such an assembly is circumstantially set forth under the section "*De Vicariis Foraneis*."

"The vicars," says Mr. Dansey, "were, it is true, mediate between our deans and chorepiscopi, and therefore the local gatherings are not to be identified with decanal chapters, strictly so called; but the approximation of the vicarial to the decanal function is near enough to admit the description of a ceremony in which the reader will see much of the primitive character of these rural deliberative conclaves; much that probably obtained in the *conventus communes* of our Church, spoken of by Lyndwood; and much that in modern practice he might still perhaps approve. Some of the duties mentioned are personal, and not capitular; but it appears better not to dis sever them.

"The foraneous vicars assembled monthly at the parochial churches,

* *Horræ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 37.

at each in succession, with the presbyters of their respective districts as already stated, and then the canon proceeds :—

“ ‘ Pridie ejus diei quam in unum locum conveniant, peccata sua omnes confiteantur : sequenti die in ea ecclesia in qua coacti fuerint missam singuli celebrent.

“ ‘ Tum universi in choro missam conventualem pro mortuis vel de Spiritu Sancto solemniter more cantent ; in qua eorum aliquis a vicario prius admonitus concionem ad populum habeat.

“ ‘ Confectis sacris et habita processione circa cœmeterium orationibusque consuetis, in domo rectoris illius ecclesiæ unico tantum ferculo contenti, ea qua decet modestia et caritate cibum capiant.

“ ‘ Deinde conferant inter se quæ ad boni pastoris officium et ad curam animarum recte gerendam pertinent : et consulant de incommodis et difficultatibus suæ parochiæ quorum explicatio vel remedium aliorum consilium et operam requirat. Idem autem vicarii libellum de casibus conscientiæ episcopis ac sedi apostolicæ reservatis metropolitani cura edendum reliquis sacerdotibus legent ; et aliquot capita tum horum constitutionum, tum earum quæ in synodo diœcesana decernuntur, simulque quidpiam ex probata summa de casibus conscientiæ explicabunt.

“ ‘ Præcipuè autem de presbyterorum vita et moribus quærant, et quales se in pastoralis præbeant cura.

“ ‘ An eorum culpa divinus in ecclesia cultus desideretur ?

“ ‘ An re ipsa præstentur ea quæ episcopi vel alii eorum nomine in ecclesiarum necessitatem earumve reparationem impendi jusserint ?

“ ‘ An libros habeant quos ex decreto habere debent ?

“ ‘ An reliqua in hac synodo decreta serventur ?

“ ‘ De his omnibus, et si quid proprie mandavit episcopus deque aliis quæ ad utilitatem animorum episcopi cognitionem desiderant, ipsum per literas diligenter certiores faciant.

“ ‘ Quoties in urbem venerint primum episcopum adeant deque eorum statu, qui sibi commissi sunt, accurate edoceant.

“ ‘ Curati vero quicumque etiamsi quavis dignitate præditi in iisque ad officium suum spectant vicariis quos diximus obtemperent.

“ ‘ Quod si aliqui ad conveniendum negligentes, vel ad mandata eorundem vicariorum exequenda contumaces fuerint ; episcopi in illos pro modo culpæ animadvertant.

“ ‘ Hi autem vicarii voluntate episcopi ab officio amoveri semper possint ; ac si male id administrarint, pœnas dent ejusmodi episcopi judicio.” *

Thus it appears that, according to the discipline of the holy Archbishop of Milan, the proceedings of the assembly of the clergy under the foraneous vicars consisted of four parts :
1. Devotional practices performed most solemnly in common by all the clergy, and a sermon for the instruction of the people ;
2. Conference and consultation among themselves ; 3. An ex-

* *HORÆ DEC. RUR.* vol. ii. p. 40, § S. C. C. tom. xxi. col. 42, 43.

planation, by the vicar, of divers matters regarding the duties of the clergy and of the canons of the diocesan synod; 4. Inquiry by the vicar into divers heads of ecclesiastical discipline.

It also seems that the Milanese vicars were in the habit of laying the state of their respective vicariates before the bishop and receiving his instructions thereon; and Van Espen mentions a similar custom prevailing in Belgium.

"And every year," says the learned canonist, "on an appointed day, let all the archpriests repair to the bishop, and confer with him respecting the condition of their respective districts, and let them lay before him what they have observed both in their visitations and in the assemblies of the clergy and elsewhere, which they judge to be for the benefit of the parishes; and then after mutual consultation and mature deliberation, let them hear what the bishop thinks proper to be established and ordained for the welfare of souls."*

So far we have seen the voluntary jurisdiction of the rural deans in their chapters; but Mr. Dansey informs us that they also possessed a contentious jurisdiction, consisting of several branches.

"The chapter, whether monthly or quarterly, was an inspectional and correctional court of spiritual judicature; wherein much of the contentious jurisdiction which now belongs to the ecclesiastical courts was originally transacted, personal suits were adjusted, and, upon formal presentment made of offenders against the laws and discipline of the Church, the dean, after examination and proof of minor irregularities, admonished the parties and exhorted them to repentance and amendment; while for the guilt of any greater crime, he had power to suspend laymen from the sacraments, and clergymen from the execution of their office: but according to the Dean of Gloucester and the Bishop of Peterborough, he could not proceed to any greater punishment."†

Mr. Dansey, however, produces many authorities to show that these courts were possessed of much more formidable powers of punishing.‡ But we submit to the reader that this question is one of mere historical and antiquarian interest. It might be useful that these courts should exercise the power of admonishing persons guilty of irregularities or other offences; the influence naturally belonging to such assemblies would render their admonitions in many cases highly medicinal, and preclude the necessity of recourse to a higher authority; but they could not be rendered fit to exercise a more penal jurisdiction. Neither the deans nor their chapters would have either the knowledge

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 42. *Van Esp.* par. i. tom. vi. cap. iv.

† *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 46. *Southey*, *B. of the Ch.* vol. i. c. vi. p. 85.

‡ *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. c. v. *per tot.*

necessary to administer justice, or the judicial habits and training requisite for such functions. The probability is that they would render themselves liable to actions at law, and cause irritation and resistance on the part of the offenders and their friends. And this is the more important to be considered, because the administration of spiritual criminal justice is a matter of infinite difficulty, requiring extraordinary tact, temper, and judgment, which can only be acquired by long and laborious study.

The temporal judge has only to apply the law as he finds it to the facts of the case, and proportion the punishment (within the limits of his power) to the circumstances of the offence; but the spiritual judge has a further and a more arduous duty to perform. The spiritual judge must most carefully avoid or suppress scandal, which is calculated to produce a prejudicial effect on the minds of the people, or otherwise to injure the interests of the Church. He must administer the law *pro salute animi*, having regard to the advantage of the soul of the offender, and so as not only to punish him, but also to bring him to repentance. Thus the canonists teach that excommunication is not to be used where its probable effect will be rather to harden and irritate than to amend. The external coercive power is entrusted to the Church by the State, partly it is true for the purpose of maintaining the external order and police of the Church considered as an institution established by law; but this is the inferior purpose, for the civil magistrate could do this. The real and great purpose of that external power is to enable the Church to carry into effect more completely than it otherwise could, that moral and religious discipline which forms the practical part of Christianity. It is to enable the Church to administer completely the spiritual power known under the name of the power of the keys. That power is *purely* spiritual. But there are men who would defy a purely spiritual power. The Church therefore has an external forum and a power of coercion entrusted to her by the Christian prince, which are essential means for the attainment of the very same objects which are the end of the spiritual power of the keys. It follows from these principles that the ecclesiastical criminal jurisdiction is one of the means by which the divine mission of the Church is fulfilled. It is a part of the penitential system of Christianity, and in that sense has a quasi-sacramental character. Whenever it is administered apart from the most lively appreciation and realization of these principles, it loses its real character, and instead of salutary results,—peace, edification, amendment, and repentance,—it causes discord, scandal, and hardness of heart. How arduous, therefore, is the office of the spiritual judge! How few are the persons to whom it ought to be entrusted,

and what care the rulers of the Church should bestow on their selection ! It would scarcely be prudent or judicious in the rural deans and chapters to undertake a task of such magnitude, even if it were entrusted to them by the law, which it never will be ; and we say this, meaning nothing but what is most respectful to them.

The rural courts christian had a civil as well as a criminal contentious jurisdiction. Mr. Dansey produces many authorities to show their power in causes relating to tithes, mortuaries, and other dues, and even in testamentary and matrimonial causes and beneficiary matters. He then proceeds to the consideration of the decay and dissolution of rural chapters, particularly in England.

He attributes that dissolution principally to the 20th Constitution of Cardinal Othobon, A.D. 1237, which introduced the archdeacons to sit in them, and this introduction of a superior functionary or his official eclipsed the rural deans, who were thus discouraged from the customary convening of the chapters.

"By such means," remarks Kennet, "these ancient chapters became obsolete and abrogated, while, so far as they were courts of Christianity, they resolved themselves into one standing ecclesiastical court in every archdeaconry ; and so far as they were conventions of the parochial clergy, they passed into solemn visitations, in which the clergy of every deanery should assemble once or twice a year, but rather cited as delinquents than admitted as judges and co-assessors ; an honour and privilege which remained no longer than they were an ecclesiastical corporation of rural deans and chapters."*

The revival of rural chapters is the next object of Mr. Dansey's consideration, and very important and interesting it undoubtedly is. He makes many very sensible remarks on the expediency of such a revival ; we have, however, anticipated the chief points of that question. When our readers consider the antiquity of the institution, its harmony with the earliest constitution of the Church, and the many uses to which it may be applied, they cannot, we think, hesitate to say that it ought to be revived. We mean to say revived in its voluntary jurisdiction ; for we agree with Mr. Dansey that its contentious jurisdiction cannot at present be restored with advantage.

We, however, do not agree with the learned writer as to the expediency of reviving these institutions in the shape of *Church union societies*, or in any other shape than that which properly belongs to them *ab antiquo*. Let us have the real old institutions of the Church, and no new contrivances. Let us have

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 110, *et seq.*

the old names as well as the old things themselves. We feel confident that Mr. Dansey himself will agree with us. And why should the rural chapters or synods not be revived in their own proper form?

We have before us a record of a rural chapter held in the present year in the deanery of Trigg Major, in the diocese of Exeter, with the sanction of the great prelate who presides over that diocese. That very interesting document begins with the form of citation, and then goes on to state as follows: that is to say,—1. Those of the clergy who complied with the citation met at the vicarage of the church of Morwenstow, of which the rural dean is incumbent, before morning prayer. 2. They walked in procession to Church, which had previously been filled by the laity of the parish. 3. The morning service was performed by the vicar of Poundstock, the junior incumbent. 4. The laity withdrew, and the doors of the church were closed. 5. The clergy assembled in the nave, and the chapter was opened by a statement of the case of rural chapters, read by the dean.

In that statement he very ably, and in a spirit truly churchmanlike, set forth the chief features of the history and functions of rural deans and their chapters; and then submitted to the assembly the following seven rules to govern the proceedings of the chapter:—

“ I. The privileges usually conceded to presidents of assemblies shall reside in the rural dean ; *e.g.* power to moderate the language of discussion, to maintain a grave and decent order, and, under responsibility to the chapter, to exercise a sound discretion with regard to what questions he shall submit to the synod.

“ II. Every member who intends to propose a subject for deliberation shall deliver the title thereof, in writing, with his name, into the hands of the rural dean.

“ III. The rural dean may submit that title to the chapter for their consideration. If the larger proportion of the members adjudge it to be a fitting matter for deliberation, it shall be forthwith discussed, or at the next chapter, as shall also be determined by vote.

“ IV. The manner of voting shall be on this wise—the members who object shall signify their judgment by rising from their seats ; those who assent shall remain seated.

“ V. The rural dean, under correction of the chapter, shall sum up the minutes of deliberation ; if so called on by his brethren to do, he shall submit any single question to the lord bishop for decision or reply ; or if there should be conflicting opinions on any important subject, the dean shall, when so enjoined, place them fairly before his lordship for resolution of doubt. But the name of no presbyter shall be stated, nor the side of the question which he espoused.

“ VI. The subjects introduced shall be such as have rigid refer-

ence to the members in some department of their duty as parish priests.

"VII. A correct detail of the proceedings of the first synod shall be laid before the Bishop, and whatsoever therein his lordship shall condemn shall be immediately discontinued."*

The sixth rule especially is very judicious, as it must ensure the practical utility of the subjects of deliberation, and prevent the chapter from degenerating into a clerical debating society. The rural dean then proceeded to consider briefly certain accessories of the meeting, and among others the surplice, vested in which the clergy assembled in chapter. We must take leave to observe that, in our opinion, he attached too much importance to the surplice, as indeed some other very excellent clergymen have done. The surplice is not a sacerdotal vestment, for it is worn by deacons, and in the continental churches by persons in minor orders. It is, indeed, scarcely an ecclesiastical vestment, for it is constantly worn by laymen in our own and in other churches. As for the typical associations which have been connected with the surplice, they belong more properly to the *Alb*. But we admit that the surplice is a very proper vestment for the clergy in synod, and one agreeable to ancient usage.

The "Record" ends with the following brief outline of the business transacted at the first chapter of the deanery of Trigg Major.

"The seven rules introduced by the rural dean were then separately proposed and seconded, discussed, and unanimously adopted.

"A petition to both houses of parliament now in session was introduced and approved, and the rural dean was called on to sign it in behalf of the chapter.

"A subject was then introduced for discussion, *The admission to other rites of the Church of children who had received baptism from laymen*.

"It was resolved that the above subject be fully considered in the next chapter.

"A proposal was introduced that the rural dean do search for authorities as to the presence of clergymen from other deaneries at such chapters, or of any lay person. The result to be laid before the next assembly.

"A discussion as to the grounds of inquiry into churches, houses, burial grounds, &c. within the jurisdiction of a rural dean. To be stated formally in the next chapter.

"The chapter dissolved.

"The evening service as usual in this church."

* Hawker's Rural Synods, pp. 15, 16.

With regard to the suggested question of the admission of the laity, there is manifest danger of causing a desire for display by introducing a numerous body of hearers, especially women, who we think ought to be, at any rate, excluded. An assemblage of wives, sisters, and other female relations and friends of the clergy, would endanger the utility and the business-like character of the chapter most seriously. The patrons of churches within the deanery, being by the ecclesiastical law the first laymen in those churches, ought, however, not to be excluded from the chapter. But these we only throw out as humble suggestions to the clergy of the deanery of Trigg Major.

This publication by the vicar of Morwenstow is an interesting document, which we cordially recommend to both clergy and laity, and we trust that the success of this first attempt will encourage others to follow in his footsteps.

The subject of rural chapters thus publicly put forward, could not fail to attract the attention of the bishops. We will confine ourselves to the latest of the episcopal opinions to which we refer, because it is most likely to secure considerable notice at present.

The Bishop of Gloucester, in a charge delivered at his visitation held in last August, expressed himself as follows :—

“ Ever since I have held my present situation I have been in the habit of recommending that my clergy should hold frequent meetings together, to consider the state of their parishes, and to give and to receive counsel on matters of interest or difficulty ; in short, upon all such matters as concern the right discharge of the functions of a clergyman. If such meetings take place under the auspices of the rural deans, it will afford you an opportunity of communicating with your diocesan on all questions that may arise. I shall not disguise from you that one cause which induces me to recommend to you such meetings, is the hope that they may be the means of bringing together in friendly associations persons whom difference of sentiment or party have kept asunder, and much asperity of feeling been imbibed in consequence. Were those individuals sometimes in the habit of meeting on common ground, and for the purpose of advancing objects in which they could concur, and about which no difference of sentiment existed, a great and important object would be gained. In some places, as I understand, the ancient synodical meetings have been revived, with the addition of such solemnities as authority may justify. You are, no doubt, aware of the history of these meetings, which I earnestly recommend to my clergy, intituled, ‘ *Horæ Decanice Rurales*.’ Whether such solemn meeting could be adopted with advantage under the present circumstances of this diocese, I am not prepared to decide ; but in this case, as in the other, I desire to consult the feelings of my clergy, and should it meet your approbation, I shall be happy to give it my sanction, but with the distinct

understanding that questions of a controversial nature shall never be agitated."

There is a more decided tone in this passage than is usually adopted in episcopal charges, touching matters involving a change in the practice of the Church. It may, however, be regretted that the bishop was not still more explicit, and did not take upon himself to decide how far such solemn meetings could be adopted with advantage under the existing circumstances of the diocese. There can be no doubt that his lordship is fully capable of deciding such a question. But on the general question, whether the revival of those assemblies is expedient, he evidently feels no hesitation. His lordship, however, stipulates "that questions of a controversial nature shall never be agitated." By questions of a controversial nature we suppose the bishop to mean especially questions of faith. Discussions of that nature must indeed be most peremptorily excluded, for this plain reason, that *rural synods have no authority to decide matters of that kind*. The same principle must exclude from being entertained in the rural chapters all affairs *not relating directly to the duties of parish priests*, according to the very judicious sixth rule of the chapter of the deanery of Trigg Major. The well-known rules of the civil law concerning *statutes*, or bye-laws, have a direct bearing on this matter. We refer especially to the rules that statutes in derogation to the general law are void,—and that statutes must not be touching matters *extra jurisdictionem statuentis*. There are also some wholesome rules in Coke upon Littleton, respecting local prescriptions, which are very much to the present purpose, and to which we refer our readers.* These are somewhat abstruse points of law. By the way, it strikes us that if the system of rural chapters should be brought into use to any extent, the clergy will soon discover the necessity of obtaining a knowledge of at least the rudiments of ecclesiastical public law, from whence alone they can get a sufficient store of general principles to keep them right in their proceedings. While they confine themselves to their churches and pastoral duties they may do without this kind of knowledge; but when they undertake to govern, the case becomes very different.

Great care will also become necessary in the choice of rural deans. If a crochety meddling person were placed in the office, or an overbearing ill-natured man, great injury might be done to the Church within his deanery, and both the dean and the chapter would be brought into disrepute.

Mr. Dansey has collected together in his appendix a number

* Co. Litt. sec. 165, p. 110 b, and n. 1.

of very valuable and interesting documents, ancient and modern, English and continental, comprising formulæ of appointment, synodical and episcopal instructions, and other documents illustrative of the office of rural dean. We recommend those instruments to the careful consideration of the clergy: they contain a mine of knowledge and experience. And here we must observe a serious omission on the part of Mr. Dansey, that is to say, the omission of an index. His book deserves to be a text-book, and a standard book of reference on the subject on which he treats; but it grievously wants an index, for that very reason. It must go through many more editions, and the learned writer will therefore have ample opportunity of supplying this defect. We, however, feel the defect so strongly (notwithstanding the copious table of contents,) that if we were in Mr. Dansey's place, we should think seriously of publishing an index separately, for the present edition.

Having thus given due praise to Mr. Dansey, we cannot help regretting to find him going out of his way to say,—“*the blessing of bells, or other such absurd ceremonies.*”^{*} Why should the blessing of church bells be more absurd than the blessing of churches or churchyards? In both cases the blessing means no more than a solemn dedication to the purposes of divine service. But, at any rate, why sneer at and apply hard words to the customs of other churches? It would also have been better to have said *St. Charles Borromeo*, than “*the reputed saint Charles Borromeo.*”[†] That great Christian was as holy as St. Augustine, St. Cyrill, and others, who are universally allowed by our divines the title of Saint; and the fact that he lived a few centuries later than they makes no difference; and that title does not necessarily imply anything that our Church refuses to sanction. But these observations are meant to be most respectful to the reverend author, who indeed would probably concur in them on second thoughts.

Mr. Dansey shows[‡] that in England the office of rural dean declined simultaneously with the rural synods or chapters; and Blackstone speaks of them as almost grown out of use although their deaneries still exist as an ecclesiastical division. On the continent this ancient office has had its period of decay, though its declension was not so marked and decisive as among ourselves. Our author cites a great number of continental decrees of councils of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, including the Synod of Trent, having for their object the revival of rural deans.

* *Horræ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 149.

‡ *Ibid.* par. vi. sec. 1, 2.

† *Ibid.* p. 146.

In our own country no such decisive measure as an ecclesiastical law on this subject has as yet been adopted. Queen Anne, in the year 1710, submitted to convocation, among other heads of business, *the establishing of rural deans where they are not, and rendering them more useful where they are*; but the dissensions which arose between the two houses prevented the passing of any canon founded on the royal proposition. The letter of George I. to the convocation, about business for them, (A. D. 1715,) contains many heads of matters proper for synodical consideration, but no allusion to rural deans. Indeed, from the reign of Queen Anne to the present time, there has been no authoritative movement on the part of the State, or of the Church collectively, for the restoration of this portion of our ecclesiastical government.

Several of the bishops have, however, revived the office of rural deans in their dioceses; and we believe that they have been uniformly found to be a useful addition to the ecclesiastical system of the country. So far a decided improvement has taken place; and the augmented number of commissions issued by the bishops to rural deans of late years, shows that further progress in the carrying out of the institution may be hoped for. But as yet the use made of the office has been narrow in its range, and confined chiefly to the inspection of fabrics. As the subject obtains more public interest and attention, people will enlarge their ideas in this respect. They will see how many things are needed in the Church, of which they previously had no idea. They will discover the imperfections of the practical working of the government of dioceses in England; and, in some particulars, the absence of all government of a real and practical nature. As the progress of civilization causes new wants to be felt, and stimulates men to improve their social condition by providing for the satisfaction of those wants; so the increase of ecclesiastical learning will, by raising the standard of the perfection of government and Church polity in the minds of the clergy and laity, lead them to extend, improve, and revive institutions which they have hitherto neglected, and apply them to a variety of purposes discovered in the rich mines of ecclesiastical antiquity. Thus, when once the institution of rural deans is fully established and understood, a more enlarged view will be taken of the office. It will become evident that its uses are far beyond what those who first revived it imagined; and then this portion of the Church's economy will be made to produce all the fruits which ancient experience, and the principles of ecclesiastical public law, justify us to expect.

ART. II.—*The Historical Geography of Arabia; or, the Patriarchal Evidences of Revealed Religion; with Maps, and an Appendix containing Translations, with an Alphabet and Glossary, of the Hamyaritic Inscriptions recently discovered in Hadramaut. By the Rev. C. FORSTER. In 2 vols. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1844.*

MR. FORSTER, who has been for several years known to the public as the author of *Mahometanism Unveiled*, has in the present work followed out into detail a matter touched upon in the appendix to that book; viz. the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, a point (as is well known) which Gibbon and his imitators have contested. To add one more to the many evidences by which the research of modern days has fenced round the holy Scriptures, was his object; for, to use his own words,—

“If infidelity could be silenced, and revealed truth vindicated, by exact scrutiny, at a single point, into the Mosaic accounts of the origin of the Arab tribes . . . [*sic*] it was clear that the most valuable results might justly be anticipated from exact scrutiny into those accounts on an extended scale, and as comprising the patriarchal origin of all the primitive tribes of Arabia.”—*Dedication*, p. iv.

Accordingly Mr. Forster occupies himself with endeavouring (and we are inclined to think successfully) to prove, by a process of laborious investigation, that the four great patriarchal stocks, who (according to Moses), together with Ishmael,* peopled the Arabian peninsula—the descendants of Cush and Joktan who preceded, and of Keturah and Esau who followed the son of Hagar—are all extant, (whether we regard them under the appellations of classical or of modern geography) “in the very localities, and along the very lines, where they are placed by ‘Moses and the prophets.’” And it may be mentioned that, in the course of his inquiry, he enters into the long disputed point of the derivation of the word *Saracen*, and concludes by vindicating the Scriptural origin of that celebrated name from the wife of Abraham. For Jacob (he observes) having become sole heir to the *spiritual* fulfilment of the promise in Gen. xvii. 16, its extended *temporal* accomplishment will naturally be sought in the family of Isaac’s first-born, Esau; and this will at once account for the minute and reiterated exhibition of the sons of Esau, or Edom, which we find in Gen. xxxvi.—a genealogical exhibition, in the first part of which (Mr. Forster very pertinently remarks) the sacred writer “enumerates the Edomite

* It will be recollected that he proved the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, in his “*Mahometanism Unveiled*,” vol. ii. App.

patriarchs *individually*," while in the second he "represents them as the founders and chiefs of potent *tribes* or *nations*." To this race of Esau, then, peopling the whole Arabian peninsula, and not (as we have been too long taught) limited to the neighbourhood of Mount Seir; to this multitude of Edomite nations is to be assigned the distinguished generic matronymic *Saracens*; just as the Ismaelites were called *Hagarenes* from Hagar, and Abraham's other wife furnished their appellation to the *Ketureans*.

We feel bound to declare, that we consider this vindication of the old—though of late well nigh exploded—derivation of the celebrated name in question, to be conducted and established in a very masterly manner, opposed, as it is, to the opinions of the learned Pocock and Asseman, and the affected research of the sceptical Gibbon. (See Pocock, Specimen, p. 33. Asseman in Raheb. Chron. Orient. p. 233. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ix. 233.)

These geographical disquisitions occupy of course the larger portion of the two volumes before us; but interesting as they undoubtedly are, it is not our intention to enter further into them at present. We will merely observe, that in several cases to which we turned (for we have not been able to bestow on this part of the work in hand the attention it deserves), the results at which Mr. Forster has arrived, coincide with the native tradition at this day; as, *e. g.* that the region of Hadramaut answers to the possessions of the sons of *Hazermaveth*, (mentioned in Gen. x. 26,) and that the children of *Uzal* (ver. 27) are represented by the modern Sanâa. Now we confess to entertaining a very deep respect for the traditions of a country; we believe them, generally speaking, to be of great value; and therefore we are concerned at perceiving the position assigned to another place. Speaking of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 30), Moses says, "Their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East." Now, we believe that Mesha, according to constant Arabic tradition, answers to modern *Mecca*. Yet what says Mr. Forster? He rejects (and rightly) the theory of Bockart, which would make Sephar to be the Djebel, or hill country of Yemen, and Mesha to correspond with Muza, near the mouth of the Arabian gulf; and he sets out by inquiring "in what *opposite* quarters of Arabia the Mesha intended by Moses and his mount Sephar lay?" And then, because he admits the position assigned by Bockart to Sephar, that being near the south-western extremity of the peninsula, he looks for the other boundary in the truly "*opposite*," or north-eastern, quarter, and fixes upon the *Zames Mons* of Ptolemy, in lat. 26°, long. 47°, as the site of the Mesha of the

book of Genesis. Now, in the first place, we do not understand why Mesha must be represented by a mountain: Moses says nothing of the kind, while he expressly mentions that Sephar is "a mount of the East." And we should be glad to be informed what is the matter with Mecca, that the native tradition must needs be set aside? It lies quite enough to the north to be considered in an "opposite quarter." And it is surely sufficiently distant to allow of "an interval" adequate "to one of the most numerous of patriarchal families;" the inadequacy of the space enclosed being the ground on which Mr. F. has rejected the limits proposed by Bockart. But the fact is, that our author has been delighted at the success with which Bockart employed the principle of the *anagram*, in the case of the classical Corodamum-promontorium and the scriptural Hadoram; and so he wishes to exercise his ingenuity in the same line, and therefore occasionally (like a child with a new toy) he is a little too much engrossed with his plaything. We may, of course, be mistaken; but it strikes us, that he is, perhaps, rather too fond of applying the *anagram* to the ancient names, after the fashion of the Inquisitors with the thumb-screw, when they would extort a confession of crimes never committed. Zames Mons (it will be seen at once) is wrung out of Mesha by this process.

We could not refrain from these observations *en passant*. We will now proceed to the main object of these pages; which is to direct the attention of our readers to a matter of singular interest, to which our author devotes some hundred or two of pages. It is but remotely connected with the main object of his work—it occurred quite accidentally, and has given a most unexpected turn to, and thrown a mantle of romantic interest over, his researches; it is, to let him speak for himself, no less than—

"The decipherment of an unknown alphabet, and the recovery of a lost language; that alphabet, the celebrated *Musnad*, which was known to Pocock himself only by vague and erroneous report of Mahometan writers, and whose total disappearance was deplored by Sir W. Jones, as the great gap between us and the earliest records of mankind; this language, the once famous and long-lost 'tongue of Hamyar.'"—Vol. i. p. 8.

We beg the reader in the outset not to mistake us; *we* do not mean to assert that Mr. Forster has succeeded in deciphering the inscriptions which have been brought to light: to pass an opinion, either one way or the other, would require far more critical investigation than we have yet been able to bestow on his book. All that we propose doing in the present notice, is,

to give an account *resumé* of the manner in which specimens of the "long-lost tongue of Hamyar" have been brought to light, and of the steps by which Mr. Forster proceeded in deciphering them. We do not mean to say that he *has* deciphered them; we pass no opinion *ex cathedra* upon that: although, if out of regard to our self-constituted office we be expected to say something, we will freely confess that we have discovered no glaring impossibility in what he says;—we will go even farther, we will own that we took up Mr. Forster's book rather prejudiced against it, and we have laid it down decidedly impressed in its favour; our critical eyes have discovered no wanton assumptions, nor detected any unscholar-like mistakes; and we have not read any book for many a long day which has stirred in us a deeper interest. Contenting ourselves, therefore, with this caution—that we wish now to be looked upon as having dropped the pen of the reviewer, and having assumed the more humble office of the expositor, we shall proceed without further delay to place before our readers, for their benefit, a simple explanation of the matter which has interested ourselves.

About ten years ago, Captain Haines, I. N. was sent in command of the *Palinurus* to survey the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula, called the district of Hadramaut, stretching from about long. 45° (or 2° east of the ancient emporium Aden) to some ten degrees to the north-east, or as far as the province of Omân. During the course of operations, Lieutenant Wellsted (the second in command) discovered several inscriptions, all written in the same unknown character, but differing considerably in other respects; some being found cut in stones at Máreb, near Sanaa,* (about 150 miles north-north-east of Aden), some carved in stone at the newly discovered ruins of Nakab el Hajar, (a few miles in-shore, about 3° east of Aden),† some deeply engraven in the solid rock, at the promontory of Hisn Ghorab; and, lastly we may as well mention one discovered only two years ago at Aden itself, by work-people employed in excavating

* "Sanaâ, ville principale dans l'intérieur de l'Yémen."—*Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. xxix. p. 20.

† Nakab el Hajar (which lies about eight-and-forty miles in a north-westerly direction from Ain, and marked on the chart in lat. 14° 2', long. 46° 30') otherwise written Nukbel Hajar, stands in the centre of an extensive valley, thickly studded with villages and cultivated grounds, and called by the natives *Wadî Meïjah*. It was conjectured by Lieutenant Wellsted to be the Mæpha Metropolis of Ptolemy; a conjecture which has been confirmed by Mr. Forster, provided that his version of the inscription over the entrance be correct.

At vol. ii. pp. 195—204, he extracts a most interesting description of the ruins, from Mr. Wellsted's own account. Mr. Forster has further presented his readers with a vignette of the ruins and their rocky foundation, and with a map of the route to them drawn (we believe) originally from materials furnished by Mr. Wellsted, for the Royal Geographical Society's Journal, by its then secretary.

for a new road. The interest of this our latest discovery in Arabian antiquities consists in this, that, though Aden was the chief emporium of the kingdom of the Homerites, no Hamyaritic inscriptions, previous to this, have ever been found either in the ruins of the ancient town, or its immediate vicinity.

The others are all evidently of nearly the same, and that a very remote, date; while this at Aden bears internal evidences of one much lower, viz. of having been cut in the reign of one of the last of the Homerite princes, *i. e.* within seventy years of the birth of Mahomet. It differs too from the rest in another particular; while *they* were found engraven on the solid rock, or, to quote Captain Haines's letter to the Bombay government, "on oblong marble blocks, generally forming part of a gateway," in *this* specimen we have a circular slab of pure, and very compact, white marble, with a raised rim round it,—brought to light, moreover, "from a depth of twenty feet beneath the present surface of Aden. The inscription," he adds, which "is not so well executed as many others," is perfectly clear, without flaw or injury. In removing the stone, part was unfortunately broken off by the work-people."—*Forster*, vol. ii. p. 395.

Having said this much of the other inscriptions, it is to those found at Hisn Ghorab that we wish to direct chief attention.

It occurred to Mr. Forster, that if deciphered, they would probably throw light on his researches: but how to read them was the question. They had been sent within the last few years to the most learned linguists of Germany, Professors Gesenius and Rædiger; the former of whom had given them up in despair, and the latter had confessed his inability to do more than read and render the first word of the chief Hisn Ghorab inscription, (a reading and rendering which he afterwards rejected,) and had pronounced the inscription to be *one of persons speaking of themselves in the first person plural*. Under these circumstances, Mr. Forster, having tried his own hermeneutic powers upon them in vain, had laid them aside; when, turning one day for materials for his work to a rare tract in this country, the "*Historia Imperii Vetustissimi Joktanidorum*" of Albert Schultens, (which happened to be bound up with his copy of the larger work of that author, the "*Monumenta Vetusiora Arabiæ*,") he opened upon a monument, which from the equal length of the two documents, and the apparent identity of their locality, as indicated by the title, instantly struck him as being an Arabic version of the chief of the inscriptions at Hisn

* The writer of this notice has been told, that *thousands* of inscriptions of the same Hamyaritic character have been discovered along the coasts of Hadramaut and Yemen. A fact which does not quite tally with Mr. Forster's "rarity even of inscriptions in the Hamyaritic," vol. ii. p. 81, note.

Ghorab. The title, often before read without attracting any special notice, ran thus:—

“Carmina antiquissima, in Arabia Felice inventa,
Super marmoribus arcium dirutarum,
In tractu littoris Hadramutteni,
Prope emporium Aden.”*

These “most ancient poems” (the history of whose discovery has been fortunately preserved by Schultens) are two translations from the Arabic of Al-Kazwîni, in his Historical Geography. They are stated to have been discovered, and translated out of the original into Arabic, by Abderrahman, viceroy of Yemen, in the course of an official progress of inspection along “the shore of Aden,” (as he terms the coast stretching from Aden eastward,) about A. D. 660—670; a circumstance which proves that, like the inscriptions now discovered at Hisn Ghorab, they were written in a more ancient character than the Cufic then in use; and that, though unknown now, they were decipherable by the Arabs of that day.

Struck, therefore, with the probable identity of the longer of the two “most ancient poems” with the principal of the lately discovered Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, Mr. Forster at once applied a mechanical test to them. He compared the two together; and allowing—in consequence of the great length of the lines of the original inscription—each line of that to represent a couplet of the presumed Arabic version, he found the two documents exactly corresponded as to length, and that the number of letters in the one approximated closely to the number of characters in the other. This correspondence was afterwards increased by procuring a fac-simile of that portion of the original MS. of Al-Kazwîni, from which Schultens informs us he took the Arabic poems of which he gives the Latin version; which MS. is lodged in the University of Leyden. By means of this exact copy our author was enabled to discover that the Arabic poem was not written (as Schultens had, for convenience, printed it) in ten couplets, but like the inscription in ten lines. The context likewise of the poem in Al-Kazwîni’s MS. consists of a prefatory notice, purporting to be taken from the Viceroy’s own account, of the site and main features of the place where he discovered it; all of which correspond exactly with Lieutenant Wellsted’s account of the whereabouts of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, and enable us to correct Schulten’s incorrect expression of “*prope emporium Aden*.” Furthermore, the context *between* the poems

* For the sake of the unlearned reader—“Most ancient poems, found in Arabia Felix, upon stones of ruined towers, on the shore of Hadramâut, near the emporium of Aden.”

in the Arabic MS. (being a preliminary notice of the second, also from the official account of Abderrahman) lets in light for the recovery of the still undiscovered inscription, the original of the shorter of the two "poems." Indeed, the description of its site answers so completely to that given by Captain Haines, of a massive ruin on the coast at this day—the site of the castle of Messenaat, in long. $50^{\circ} 45' 23''$ east, that Mr. Forster predicts the inscription will be found there.*

Putting together these and some few other circumstances, he became satisfied so far of their identity; in other words, that the longer of the two "most ancient poems" of Al-Kazwîni and Schultens, and the longer of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, stood to each other in the relation of version and original. Encouraged by the success of his initiatory tentamina, the next point was to decipher the unknown legend. The steps by which (we must say, with consummate ingenuity) he has accomplished this, were briefly as follows:—

From Professor Rœdiger's success in making out the first word *Smak*, "we dwelt," he inferred that, in the four letters of that word he had before him the true powers of four letters of the alphabet of Hamyar.

Again, from the radical similarity of all the Semitic languages, he inferred that the few characters in the Hisn Ghorab inscription similar in their form to letters in the *Hebrew* alphabet, were likely to possess the same powers; *e.g.* that one somewhat like an inverted gamma (\daleth) answered to the Hebrew resh (\daleth). And further, from the immemorial connexion between Southern Arabia and the coast of Africa, parts of which have, from most ancient times, been subject to the kings of Yemen and Hadramaut, he deduced the likelihood, that such of the letters as bore resemblance to those of the *Ethiopic* alphabet, would be found to possess the sameness of power.† Furnished with these elements, he proceeded to make experiments. He pitched upon, first, one word at random, and then another, and read each one as well as he could guess; and then searched in Golius's Arabic Lexicon till he found one not unlike it; and so on with

* The Rev. T. Brockman, of Sandwich, has gone out, with praiseworthy zeal, to look for it.

† Rœdiger had done the same; but unfortunately assumed besides, that a character somewhat like an inverted sigma (the reader will perceive that we cannot give representations of the Hamyaritic characters) must have the same power as the Greek Σ , an assumption which, of course, was fatal to his alphabet.

"That Professor Rœdiger was further right in applying the power of the Ethiopic letters, where there was sameness of form, to decipher the characters of the unknown inscriptions, became also clear to me, from the one instance in which there could be no mistake,—the repeated occurrence of the sign of the first person plural, *nu*."—Vol. ii. p. 98.

others. That he was justified in making the experiment of interpreting the unknown character by the Arabic, would appear, not only from the antecedent assumption of affinity between the Hamyaritic and the Arabic, as the ancient and modern forms of the same language;* but also from a remarkable fact which Mr. Forster states as being known to himself:—

“That the word cited by Pocock as a peculiar specimen of the Hamyaritic, viz. *س* (to sit down), occurs, in the Hamyaritic sense, in the present Arabic; and that from Golius's Lexicon it appears, beyond question, that many Hamyaritic words are now incorporated in that idiom.”—Vol. ii. p. 99.

There were other marks of identity; such as the recurrence (adverted to in a preceding note), exactly fifteen times in each document, of the sign *na* or *nu*, “only not uniformly in the same parts of the lines:” “its occurrence (as he remarks) always at the end of words, as in the Arabic, decides the direction of the writing, which is from right to left.” At the suggestion of a friend, that the I in the inscription might be the Hebrew *Vau*, he was led to compare the single recurrences of this letter; and found the I occurring, singly, three times in the seventh line of the one, and the *;* or *;* also three times in the corresponding line and couplet of the other; and followed in both cases by three single words.

With the progressive enlargement of his alphabet, there came an increased facility of detecting unascertained letters, by their connexion with those already ascertained. Again, the analysis of the first line of the Hisn Ghorab inscription taught him,—

“That, whatever might be the laws of rithm in this primeval poetry, the sense was not necessarily commensurate with each line: . . . the sense, in some instances, falling short of the line; in others, overflowing it.”

Of this the reader will remark a fine instance presently, in the opening description of the rolling swell of the sea. His attention was recalled to this circumstance by a translation, which his recovery of the alphabet afterwards enabled him to make, of a two-line inscription discovered near the long one, lower down the terrace; which contained an account of the inscription with the names of its two engravers; and the first line of which ran thus:—

“Divided into parts, and inscribed from right to left, and marked with points this song of triumph, Sarash and Dzerah;”

* See Sir J. Chardin's works, vol. iii.

wherein the word, which we have distinguished with italics, "plainly referred to the lines of the inscription." And this circumstance proved to have a value beside and beyond the light which it threw upon the earliest laws of metrical arrangement; for (as he says),—

"It stood, in itself, an independent and demonstrative proof of the correctness of my translation; since, in every instance, that translation proved to have distributed the sense, in the most perfect correspondence with the artificial divisions of the lines, in the Hamyaritic original."—Vol. ii. p. 342.

Beside the proofs arising from this law of "division," in the process of deciphering, the coincidence of particles and prepositions came in—on collating the Hisn Ghorab inscription with Al-Kazwini's—to corroborate the completeness of their identity throughout. We have already noticed the common force of the Hamyaritic *I* and the Arabic *;*; we may now point out, "as a peculiarity of the Hamyaritic idiom, the grammatical effect of 'the points'* in changing the copulative *I* into the preposition *in*." To adopt our author's own words,—

"The insulated position of the *I*, in so many instances, at first perplexed me: it was too weak an element to represent a noun or verb; and stood too much apart for an 'and.'"

In this dilemma he turned to its first isolated occurrence, where, in order that it might agree with the corresponding point in Al-Kazwini, it was necessary to render it by *in*, not *and*;—a sense which, he found, suited best in the other instances of its recurrence:—

"And as the letter clearly had another place and office in *conjunction*, as a prefix to the nouns and verbs of the inscription, I could no longer doubt the object in thus *insulating* °°I°°,—viz. to convert it into a preposition."

* Specially referred to in the engravers' account, as above given. It strikes us as a very singular circumstance, that native engravers, if Sarash and Dzerah really were the engravers, and if the short inscription which relates this was the genuine production of these artists, executed at the same period as the long inscription to which it refers, *i. e.* while this mode of writing was still in vogue,—as very singular that native engravers should have made such pointed allusion to the direction of the writing: at that early period there surely could not have existed, (and, if Mr. Forster's conclusions be right, there did not exist,) any other alphabet than that now discovered: and yet the circumstance just adverted to would appear to argue one of two things, either that the mode of writing from right to left was not at that day universal in the East, or that this inscription is not the handywork of Messieurs Sarash and Dzerah themselves, but of some one at a later day, before the knowledge of the tongue of Hamyar was quite extinct. However, even then it must have been the production of an Arab; and yet was Arabic ever written except from right to left? We repeat, it seems to us, at any rate, a singular circumstance.

We are reminded by this (though not from any direct connexion of the two) of a remark which Mr. Forster elsewhere makes; namely, that—

"The circlets, and other discriminative marks, *attached* in so many instances to letters of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, are obviously of the same nature with the vowel and diacritic points, *detached* from the letters of the Hebrew and Arabic alphabets."—Vol. ii. p. 406.

If this be so, it is a fresh proof of the great sagacity of the learned Chardin, who was of opinion that the alphabet of the Hamyarites was no other than the ancient characters of the Arabs, differing from the Cufic characters which were afterwards introduced; and that they were furnished with vowel-points. (Chardin, *ubi supra*.)

The next step was to direct attention to the prefixes and suffixes; those inherent augmentatives common to all the Semitic idioms. To one example of these latter our attention has already been called (as his had from the first), in the employment of *na* or *nu*, to denote the plural number. As an instance of the former we may mention the employment of *m*, as a prefix, to convert verbs into participles, or noun-substantives.

Indeed, we may say that, generally, the Hamyaritic of the Hisn Ghorab inscription exhibits, in this usage, the same principles with all its kindred dialects. One very singular and important example Mr. F. gives in page 346; it is of the suffixed termination *kab* occurring three times in as many consecutive words, in the seventh line, and which answers to the Arabic *خ*—*res occulta et abscondita*; in other words, *a mystery*.

So remarkable are the agreements, and so completely identified (in Mr. Forster's opinion) are the Arabic and the Hamyaritic idioms, that he pronounces them to be, "instead of two distinct languages, simply two dialects of the same language." One very interesting specimen of the idiomatic difference of style between the original and the version of Al-Kaswîni, we will give, at the risk of appearing tedious. In the sixth line of the inscription (which we shall presently lay before our readers) we meet with an eulogistic description of their ancient Homerite kings. It appears that in the Arabic there are two words for "kings;" they are, in the plural termination, *Meluk* and *Hasiru*. Of these, the former is the more common word, and is employed by the translator in this place, while the Hamyaritic original has the latter. The cause of its adoption by the poet, as well as of its rejection by the translator, is distinctly explained by the definition of the word *Hasir*, as given by Mr. Forster from Golius:—"حَصِيرٌ, *Hasir*, Rex: *quod, velo obtento quasi, disculus*"

"The title *Hasir*, it follows," (continues Mr. F.) "was peculiar to the kings of Yemen and Hadramaut; of whom alone, among the Arab princes, it is recorded," [and witnessed, too, by Agatharchides, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo,] "that they passed their lives shut up in their palaces; and were thus secluded, as by a veil, from the public eye."—Vol. ii. p. 361.

Having thus detailed briefly the steps in the process of decipherment, it is time that we present the reader with his translation of the inscription, of which we have said so much:—

"We dwelt living long luxuriously in the zenanas of this spacious mansion: our condition exempt from misfortune and adversity. Rolled in through our channel

"The sea, swelling against our castle with angry surge; our fountains flowed, with murmuring fall, above

"The lofty palms: whose keepers planted dry dates in our valley date-grounds; they sowed the arid rice.

"We hunted the mountain-goats, and the hares, with gins and snares; beguiling, we drew forth the fishes.

"We walked with slow proud gait, in needle-worked many-coloured silk vestments, in whole silks, in glass-green chequered robes.

"Over us presided kings far removed from baseness, and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men. They noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heber,

"Good judgments written in a book to be kept; and we proclaimed our belief in miracles, in the resurrection, in the return into the nostrils of the breath of life.

"Made an inroad robbers, and would do us violence; collectively we rode forth—we and our generous youth—with stiff sharp-pointed spears; rushing onward

"Proud champions of our families and our wives; fighting valiantly upon coursers with long necks, dun-coloured, iron-gray, and bright bay,

"With our swords still wounding and piercing our adversaries; until, charging home, we conquered and crushed this refuse of mankind."

Such is the long, or ten-line, inscription, graven on the solid rock at Hisn Ghoráb. The reader will bear with us while we venture on a few remarks.*

Line 1. *Zenanas* answers to Seraglio of the Turks, and to Harem of the Arabs.

Line 2. This description of the swell rolling in through a narrow channel tallies most curiously with the account of the

* It will readily be perceived, that though, from their great length, it was impossible to present the lines singly to the eye of the reader, we have so printed them that they can easily be distinguished.

anchorage there as given by Lieut. Wellsted, (at p. 421, in vol. ii. of his Travels,) instead of its being, as one might have supposed, an open roadstead.

Line 4. *Gins and snares*,—literally, “ropes and reeds.”

Line 5. It will at once occur to the reader to compare this with the description in Deborah's magnificent song, Judges v. 30.

Line 6. *Heber*. In the Hamyaritic it is written “Hud,” or rather “Ud;” a proof that it was the name borne by the patriarch Heber (Gen xi. 14) long before the time of Mahomet, instead of being *his* corruption, as alleged by D'Herbelot and others.

Line 7. In the original this is (as we mentioned before) “the miracle-mystery, the resurrection-mystery, the nostril-mystery.”

The eighth and ninth lines present us with a most curious fact, that the combat therein described was fought *on horseback*; so that while the barbarian heroes of the Trojan war (like the savage Britons), so many centuries after, knew no other use of this noble animal, these Adites already exemplified the historical fidelity of the book of Job, when it describes “the horse and his rider.”

The second, or seven-line, inscription (the original of which Mr. Brockman has gone in search of), as translated from the Arabic of Al-Kaswini, runs thus:—

“We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of time; nor had we a desire, but for the region-lord of the vineyard.

“Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at evening, their eye pleasant to behold in their resting-places:

“And twice the number of our camels were our sheep, in comeliness like white does; and also the slow-moving kine.

“We dwelt in this castle seven years of good life—how difficult from memory its description!

“Then came years barren and burnt up: when one evil year had passed away, then came another to succeed it:

“And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good. They died; and neither foot nor hoof remained.

“Thus fares it with him who renders not thanks to God: his footsteps fail not to be blotted out of his dwelling.”

The only point now remaining is the question of the *date* of these inscriptions. We will endeavour to detail briefly the various evidences, which, in Mr. Forster's opinion, justify the ascription of the very “awful antiquity” which he assigns them. He reasons upon two distinct sets of dates, the first arising from the characters themselves, the second from the subject-matter of the inscriptions.

I. For the first indication of the primitive period of the world to which these characters belong, he takes the *fewness of the letters*

(twenty) which compose the alphabet formed from the inscriptions at Hisn Ghorab. With regard, however, to the completeness of the alphabet, (as he himself allows,) we cannot yet speak with certainty, formed as it has been from so limited materials; it yet derives great probability from the fact, that no new letter is discernible in the more recent inscriptions at Nakab el Hajar, Sanaa, and Aden: at least, so says Mr. F.; but the truth of this assertion must depend upon the correctness of his interpretations, for though (according to him) no new letter *in point of power* has turned up in these more newly-discovered inscriptions, very many have been found new *as to form*. "The next indication of antiquity—the fewer subdivisions of letters—is still more remarkable." And, thirdly, "the unsettledness implied in the interchange, or indifferent use, of similar letters," he gives as another phenomenon "strongly indicative of an early stage, if not of the origin itself, of letters and written language."

II. His second line of induction as to the age, is derived from the subject-matter of the inscriptions:—

"In both these poetical inscriptions, the marks of an early stage of society are not to be mistaken:" and "in the second poem, the pastoral simplicity of the description with which it opens, belongs, most unequivocally, to purely patriarchal times. For the imagery here is literally the same with the opening imagery of the Book of Job."—Vol. ii. p. 94.

Generally speaking, therefore, Mr. Forster agrees, in assigning to them both a very high antiquity, with the tradition current among the Arabs themselves in the seventh century of our era, when the viceroy of the Caliph Moawiyah discovered them. For, in the words of Albert Schultens, (*Monum. Vetust. Arab.* p. 71,) "*Arabes hæc monumenta, quæ certæ ætati assignare nequeant, ea, suo more, ad tempora Aditarum, i.e. vetustissimorum Arabiæ Felicis incolarum, referunt.*" Yet what the Arabs uttered in an adagial sense, our author professes to have discovered to be literally true: for when once master of the characters and words of the ten-line inscription, he was enabled to decipher the two-line one which was discovered near the foot of the former. While the first line of this (which we gave above) contains the names of the two engravers, the second line puts us in possession of the names of the parties between whom the battle, described at the close of the long poem, was fought: and (accommodating the inverted order of the original to the English idiom) runs thus:—

"Aws assailed the Beni Ac, and hunted [them] down, and covered their faces with blackness.*"

* Compare Joel ii. 6.

"This latter line" (continues the translator,) "revealed, at once, the awful antiquity of the whole of these inscriptions . . . Aws (after the name of their forefather Aws or Uz [Gen. x. 23], the grandson of Shem, and great grandson of Noah) being the primitive patronymic of the famous lost tribe of Ad!"*—P. 372.

So much, then, for the *nation* whose handwriting has just been revealed to us. But now for the *period of the world* when we may suppose this monument to have been erected. If the name of Aws revealed the former point, that of the Beni Ac performs no less a service with regard to the latter.

"For Ac" (writes Mr. Forster) "was the son of Adnân; and Adnân—according to the tradition of Mahomet, transmitted through his wife Omm Salma,—was the fourth generation from Ishmael. This, at the common reckoning of thirty years to a generation, would place Ac at that period of Jacob's life contemporary with Joseph, and about fifty years prior to the famine in Egypt, and the surrounding countries; a period at which the Ishmaelites, as we learn from Joseph's history,¹ had already multiplied into tribes and nations."—Vol. ii. p. 350.

The ten-line inscription, then, is an Adite monument, engraven about the time of Joseph. But more closely even than this may we approximate to the true date, by means of the internal evidences furnished by the seven-line poem of Al-Kaswîni; for in that we have—

"Specific reference to an event of Scripture history, which, so far as exactness of coincidence can be received as proof, fixes the date of the poem itself to a given point in the patriarchal times. For the seven years of plenty, followed by years of famine, which took place in the age of Jacob and Joseph, not in Egypt only, but 'in all lands,'[†] is here commemorated with a life and fidelity of description, which preserves to us, in an Arabic poem certainly of very high antiquity, neither more nor less than an abridgment of the relation in Genesis."—Vol. ii. p. 94.

Now in the Mahometan account of the tribe of Ad, (as given by Mr. Sale,) we are told that the descendants of Ad in process of time falling into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hûd (or Heber to preach to them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, He, to humble them, "*afflicted them with a drought for four years; so that all their cattle perished,* and themselves were very near it." And that, this visitation failing in its object,

* Adah, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, was the name of the first of Esau's three wives, and the mother of Eliphaz, the chief founder of the mighty race of Edom; who (as it is one of the primary objects of Mr. Forster's book to show) still lives in the names and families of his sons, Teman, Omar, &c.; and in the classical Oaditæ of Ptolemy. See Gen. xxxvi. 2, 4, 10; and 1 Chron. i. 36.

† Gen. xli. 54.

He sent "a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together," and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hûd, and retired with him to another place. The close resemblance of this (when winnowed from the chaff of the Koran) with what is recorded of themselves by the lost Adites in the two inscriptions, cannot fail to strike the reader, whether as to their instruction in the doctrine preached by Hûd (recorded in the first inscription); or as to the seven plenteous years succeeded by a famine, and the consequent destruction of all, even to every "foot and hoof" of cattle; and lastly, the one grand cause which drew down upon Ad its awful calamities, recorded in the second Arabic poem.

But since (from this second inscription, concurring, as it does, with the native accounts) the Adites would appear to have been broken down as a nation in that famine, the dates of the two poems can be pretty nearly ascertained. The long one—belonging to the period of their prosperity—must be a little, and but a little, prior to the Egyptian famine; while the shorter poem is as clearly the work of some person who had escaped the general destruction of his nation, and must be referred to a date a few years posterior to the calamity it relates, while the greatness, the guilt, and the annihilation of the tribe of Ad was still fresh in the memory of man.

From the date of the actual inscriptions the mind naturally turns, in the last place, to that of the Hisn Ghorab alphabet. Mr. Forster shall give his conclusion in his own words:—

"The same evidences which assign to this alphabet a date within five centuries of the deluge" [what they are we have shown], "assert its claim to be the first alphabet of mankind; for, although the tongues were confounded shortly after that event, there is no reason to suppose that the signs of speech were changed. On the contrary, the extraordinary coincidences of form between the characters used by the most different and distant nations, plainly lead to the directly opposite inference, viz. the common, and therefore the primeval origin of written language. But, if this be so, there is every moral presumption to favour the belief, that, in the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions we recover the alphabet of THE WORLD BEFORE THE FLOOD."—Vol. ii. p. 408.

The very singular opinion expressed in these latter words involves so many considerations of extreme difficulty as well as interest, that it would be a mockery of the subject to enter upon them in the confined limits which alone we could at present afford. We must content ourselves with remarking, that there seem to us to be certain difficulties in the way, which we do not see at the moment how to remove; and that, at all events, we must weigh the subject much more fully, before we

can assent to the conclusion which the learned author's enthusiasm has led him to adopt.

We must, in conclusion, again remind our readers that we do not profess to give our warrant for the truth of all that we have been stating. We have merely been endeavouring to excite their curiosity to study a book, which, whatever value we may attach to the author's lucubrations, is certainly not destitute of singular interest. We have been endeavouring (and, we trust, not altogether unsuccessfully) to give a succinct and connected account of the various steps in the process of investigation, and of the arguments by which the author arrives at his conclusions. To do this, we assure the reader, was no easy task. We are not in the habit of considering ourselves duller than most other people; and yet, in so unconnected a shape has Mr. F. sent forth his various bits of facts and scraps of argument; so ingeniously has he contrived to mix up what he could do and what he could not do, what he conjectured and what he has discovered; so perversely has he refused to cancel so much as a single line of all that he wrote by guess-work, before he had succeeded in deciphering a single word of the inscriptions: to such an extent, we say, has he done this, that it was not till after several perusals, and making innumerable references, that we contrived to fix his arguments in our head with sufficient clearness to explain them to others.

While the pen is in our hands, we would beseech Mr. Forster to amend his style a little: somehow, it is terribly tedious. Nearly in every page he indulges one with half-a-dozen little equidistant dots set in a row, like knots on a string,—with what conceivable object it is hard to imagine (as a simple comma or hyphen would have served his presumed purpose much better), unless, as Bentley said to Boyle, it be to show the *knottiness* of his subject. Will he forgive us too, if we suggest to him, in future, not “arbitrarily” to puzzle us with long newly-coined words, but to “pretermit” all such affected Faber-isms? Nor can we repress a regret, that one who really had so much to tell, should have condescended to attempt to add to his own laurels by repeatedly, and needlessly, and wantonly calling attention to the unsuccessful attempts of Professor Rœdiger, and that late eminent scholar, Gesenius.

One word more, and we have done. While we are bound to confess that we cannot *quite* make *all* the Hadramutic tally with the Arabic,—*e. g.* the second word in line 6 of the ten-line inscription,—we must, nevertheless, record our persuasion that Mr. Forster has been, in the main, successful; and one very significant proof of this is, that after he had deciphered the long inscription, by the aid of the key unconsciously furnished

by Schultens from Al-Kaswîni (and without which key, he candidly confesses, that "no sagacity of mind or skill in languages could have availed"—Vol. i. p. xix.), he was enabled to translate four other inscriptions and a monogram, of which there is *no* Arabic version. And even though he may have hazarded a few insufficiently supported assertions, and may not be quite borne out in the legitimacy of all his conclusions; and even though he may occasionally herald forth his discoveries with a little too great pomposity, or indulge in a somewhat ludicrous vein of congratulation of "the *ould* country," for one of whose sons it has been reserved to make such discoveries; still we can well understand the enthusiasm and bubbling joy of one who (to say the least) had strong grounds for believing himself to be "conversing, as it were, with the immediate descendants of Shem and Noah; not through the doubtful medium of ancient history, or the dim light of Oriental tradition, but in their own records of their own annals, 'graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever.'"

We must make great allowance for a little want of soberness in one who found himself penetrating thus into the "cunabula gentium," and recovering the key to perhaps the most ancient language of the world,—“so long lost, so much desired, and so fruitlessly sought after by the first names in Oriental learning;” from the days of Pocock and Laud, to those of Kennicott and Sir William Jones.

If Mr. Forster be in the right, two important results follow. First of all, the question as to the art of writing among the Hamyarites (which was matter of conjecture only with Pocock) is set at rest by the recent discoveries in Yemen and Hadramaut: which discoveries are most important too in another way, as accrediting the account given by Firazabandi, after Ebn Hesham, and cited by Pocock in the Specimen, of a sepulchral inscription, brought to light in Yemen, of a Hamyarite princess, Tajah; who sent messenger after messenger to Joseph in the time of the great famine, and at length perished on failing to procure a supply: these discoveries (we say) are important, both as accrediting that account, by the demonstration they afford of the existence there of written characters in very remote times; and as supplying an independent confirmation of Mr. Forster's correctness in the date he assigns to the seven-line poem.

And, secondly, though nothing of all this can increase the certainty of our Faith, we yet have monuments here which do add a little to our conscious enjoyment of all that, as Christians, we confess, hold fast, and cherish. For, whatever questions may still be raised by the evil spirit of unbelief against that

faith by which we stand, we are here assured that we hold a communion of belief in "the Resurrection-mystery" with the sons of Esau: that pious Job really was no stranger to this same source of comfort (as the Church has concluded from the famous passage in chap. xix. 23—27, though Patrick and other commentators have affected to doubt it); that, in short, the truth which the revelation of Jesus Christ has stamped with a certainty it never had before,—which animates the efforts of the living, and lights up the closing eye of the dying Christian in these latter days of the world's existence,—was known and was cherished 3500 years ago; was indeed the primitive religion of mankind.

ART. III.—1. *Einleitung in die Christ-Katholische Theologie.* Von G. HERMES. Münster: Erster Theil, 1819; Zweiter Theil, 1829.

2. *Annali delle Scienze religiose.* Vol. IX. 27. Roma, 1839.

3. *Der Hermesianismus und Johannes Perrone, sein Römischer Gegner.* Von Dr. P. I. ELVENICH, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Breslau. 1844.

4. *Die letzten Hermesianer.* Von H. J. STUFF, Königl. Preuss. Justizrathe, &c. &c. &c. Siegen und Wiesbaden. 1844.

THE following passage in the 'Pensées de Pascal,' very forcibly expresses a truth, which is almost universally acknowledged by Christians, but which it is not always easy to carry into practice: 'La dernière démarche de la raison, c'est de connaître qu'il y a une infinité de choses qui la surpassent. Elle est bien faible, si elle ne va jusque-là. Il faut savoir douter où il faut, assurer où il faut, se soumettre où il faut. Qui ne fait ainsi n'entend pas la force de la raison.' Human reason is, indeed, a mysterious and an awful gift: like all the gifts of God, it is given for use; more, perhaps, than any other, it is liable to be abused. And the line of demarcation between the use and the abuse is not always so strictly defined, as to remove all doubts, or relieve man from that responsibility, which, according to the will of his Maker is, in every moment of his life, imposed upon him.

This, accordingly, is the question which, age after age, is recurring; which is at the bottom of half the disputes that have agitated the world: What is the use of reason, and what the abuse? In other words, What are its legitimate functions? Of religious controversies especially, the most important in modern times have been in effect, if not expressly, concerned with this subject. And in no country more so than in Germany; from the days of Luther and Melancthon to our own, it is around this point, as around a centre, that all vital questions have revolved. Luther himself has written against the use of reason, in, perhaps, the strongest words which ever flowed from his powerful, but coarse pen; and yet Luther fought the battle of the right of private judgment against deference to authority. He strenuously and unbendingly asserted the supreme right of private judgment in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and in determining the relative merits of its different books; he as emphatically denied the power of human reason to discern or even to comprehend the divine truths revealed, maintaining even that some of them are in themselves wholly irrational and absurd—a strange inconsistency, into which he was led by the force of circumstances, and which has caused unnumbered woes

to the various Protestant bodies. The same opinions were maintained by his more zealous followers; and seventy years after his death, it was asserted by Hoffmann, a professor at the University of Helmstadt, that whatever is true according to human reason and philosophy, is always false in religion, and *vice versâ*. From that time, however, a very different theology began to prevail. The philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolff opened a breach for rationalism; and under that of Kant it deluged the land, and swept away all the landmarks, the confessions, and symbolical books, which had been erected with so much labour. Thenceforward, the learned men of Protestant Germany have worshipped only human reason; and the mass of the people have been given over to materialism and indifference.

Catholic Germany, during more than two centuries, avoided the contagion. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, some reforming tendencies became visible, which gave the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome some trouble, and inspired them with distrust, if not aversion, towards German theologians. J. N. Von Hontheim, Bishop of Trier, made, in 1763, under the assumed name of Justinus Febronius, a vehement attack upon the papal hierarchy, in a book ('*De Statu ecclesiæ et legitimâ Potestate Romani Pontificis*') which created an extraordinary sensation throughout Germany, and was translated into several languages. The Emperor, Joseph II., projected extensive plans of ecclesiastical reform, embracing, among other points, the marriage of priests and the use of the vernacular tongue; and the fruitless journey which Pope Pius VI. was compelled to make to Vienna, must have increased the feelings of alienation which subsisted between Rome and her German children; these feelings have been yet more heightened by the liberal views known to be entertained in the Catholic universities of Freiburg, and, until lately, of Tübingen, and advocated, with much success, by such theologians as Stattler, Wessenberg, Werkmeister, Huber, and, above all, Sailer, the late pious and venerated Bishop of Regensburg.

Towards the close of the last century, circumstances well known to our readers had exposed the Church of Rome to peculiar perils. Her discipline was not only endangered by the conscientious reformers of whom we have spoken, but her very faith was assailed by professed Catholics, who had become converts to the prevailing scepticism and infidelity. Even in the ranks of the priesthood, there were, throughout France and Germany, thousands of unbelievers.

George Hermes, at that time (A.D. 1795) twenty years of age, saw not the danger unmoved: and he imagined that it might

best be averted by showing, in opposition to the prevalent false philosophy, that the truth of religion, of Christianity, of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, might all be logically and convincingly demonstrated by the unaided powers of the human mind. It is strange that the same fear which three quarters of a century before had given birth to rationalism in the Lutheran Communion, should now be the means of introducing it into the Catholic. It was to counteract the influence of English empiricism, of which he discerned the atheistic tendency, that Wolff, in 1720, endeavoured to prove, from the light of human reason, the truth of the Christian religion, and of each article of the Lutheran creed; and it was to arrest the progress of French naturalism, that Hermes conceived the same idea, substituting only Catholic for Protestant doctrines. And both resorted to the same method, namely, that of meeting scepticism with scepticism. Wolff, namely, adopted the Cartesian system, which is based upon positive doubt. Divesting his mind of all he knew or believed, and determined to doubt the reality of everything that is proposed to him, he meets, at last, with one proposition,—that of his own existence,—the truth of which he cannot dispute; and taking that as a solid foundation, he builds upon it a system, of which the final conclusion is the creed of his own Church. Between this method and that of Hermes, there is no distinction whatever; although, of course, the result which the latter arrives at, is somewhat different. ‘I philosophised,’ says he, ‘with the determination to accept nothing as ‘real and true, or as not real and not true, so long as I could ‘continue to entertain a doubt.’—*Preface to Philosoph. Introduction*, p. viii.

That our reason was given to us to be employed on religious as well as other subjects, no one of common sense will now be tempted to deny; and even in the Church of Rome there have been those who have done good service to her cause, by adducing philosophical arguments in favour of the revealed truths. Such have been St. Basil, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus; and in modern times, more especially, the right use of reason in religious matters has been vindicated by Muratori, the light and the ornament of the Italian Church. To these writers the defenders of the Hermesian doctrine are very fond of referring; and they endeavour particularly to show a similarity between the line of argument adopted by the last named, and that of Hermes. But the road cannot be the same, if, as we shall show to be the case, the point from which they start is totally different. ‘Credo ut intelligam’ is the motto of a true Christian philosophy; we believe, and from belief we strive to arrive at knowledge. Hermes, on the contrary, seeks

knowledge first, and would then, through knowledge, find his way to faith, reversing in fact, the method, and saying, 'intelligo ut credam.' So we find, no doubt, that the Catholic writers were glad to accept the testimony of science and learning in favour of the doctrines which they believed: but they never imagined, like Hermes, that the belief itself should be based upon the researches of reason. 'If a religion,' says Muratori, 'is derived from God, every doubt of its truth is excluded, *for the divine authority is above even reason itself.*' On the contrary, Hermes teaches that 'the use of reason is unlimited in all that precedes the "dogmatik;" *it must be our sole guide, until it has found us another.*' Thus it is evident that as to the function of human reason at the very outset of our religious inquiries, there is a wide difference, or rather a direct opposition, between the teaching of Muratori, and that of Hermes.

No examination of the method adopted by the latter, could give us a clearer insight into its nature, than the narrative contained in the preface to his 'Philosophical Introduction,' which relates the circumstances by which he was led to adopt it.

Hermes, we have already stated, was twenty years of age, when owing doubtless, in a great measure, to the circumstances of the times,

"The following ideas; God,—revelation,—eternal life,—seized upon, and rivetted my attention, with a force as if they were the only ideas of which I had ever heard. There arose in my mind a number of questions and doubts concerning them, which occupied me day and night; all of which I certainly knew how to answer, but not one of which (I was on further inquiry obliged to confess) I could answer. And, as yet, I had not acknowledged to myself the principal doubt of all, 'whether there is a God;' until at last my conscience,—or by whatever better name you will designate the irresistible power within me, by which I was impelled,—charged me so loudly and so constantly with the dishonesty of which I was guilty, that I resolved to enter upon this question also, and indeed to make it the first of all."

He goes on to describe his dismay at finding that there was not a single book in existence, from which he could derive any aid in this inquiry; and then he proceeds:—

"Sorrowful, but not despairing, I retired within myself, and resolved not to rest, until I had found a convincing answer to my question, even if my whole life should be spent in the search. I began to study with the determination to let all that I might already know, only in so far count for knowledge, as I might now discover it myself."

It was in the year 1795 that he formed this resolution, and it was in 1818, 'having during three-and-twenty years been 'striving unceasingly to gain a conviction, and to maintain it

‘before the judgment-seat of reason,’ that he published his ‘Philosophical Introduction.’

We are not disposed to concur in the fearful charges of hypocrisy which are brought against Hermes by his Romish adversary, the Father Perrone, for having continued during so long a time to discharge the duties of a priest, and to fill the office of professor of theology at a Catholic University, while yet he was doubting the existence of a God. All men who are continually exercising their reasoning faculties, are more or less assailed by doubts; and there is no ground for supposing that Hermes regarded these doubts otherwise than as temptations, and earnestly strove to overcome them. That he adopted a wrong method of doing so, which led him to spend the best years of his life in disquiet and perplexity, does not affect his sincerity, or justify the charge of hypocrisy. And having overcome his doubts:

“Thus I have now,—thanks be to my God, whom I have found,—attained the conviction which I so much desired and sought. I am become certain, that there is a God, that I shall be, and live for ever; I am become certain, that Christianity is divine revelation, and that Catholicism is true Christianity.*—Therefore I now wish with my whole heart,—and what should I be, if I did not wish?—that all men should gain the same conviction, and be united with me, through the same faith, and the same hope, in the One God, and the One Catholic Church of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.”

It is not necessary for our purpose, that we should institute a critical examination of the Hermesian system. It will suffice to mention that the author,—by means of series of derivations, which bear a considerable resemblance to the Kantian philosophy,—discovers three different grades or states of the reasoning faculties; *viz.* the state of holding an idea to be reality (*das Fürwirklichhalten*); the state of being resolved (*die Entschiedenheit*); and the state of conviction (*die Ueberzeugung*). We need not pursue our inquiries any further; it will be sufficiently obvious that this system is opposed to true Christian philosophy, when we consider that there is no place in it for one most necessary grace of the Christian character, namely faith. It is true that Hermes speaks enough of faith; but he is obliged to give a new definition of it, and to make it identical with one or

* Father Perrone rather unfairly falsifies the sense of this passage, in order to make it appear that Hermes during the whole of this portion of his life was at heart an infidel, and had entirely lost all knowledge and belief of God: “E così finalmente,” (which is not the meaning of the German ‘nun’)—“grazie al mio Dio, ch’io ho ritrovato!”—(the Italian implies a previous total loss, which the German word does not)—“io sono arrivato al convincimento;” on which he makes the following comment: “Lo star vent’anni e più prima di ritrovare il suo Dio, che è quanto dire, non sapere di Dio, nè credere in Dio per vent’anni e più.”—*Annali*, &c. p. 345.

the other of these states of mind which we have named: one or the other, for it does not seem quite clear, with which of the three he is desirous of identifying it. 'Faith,' he tells us, 'all other theologians have defined to be, the *holding a thing to be true* upon the authority of another, of God or of a man; but the distinctive words, "upon the authority of another" are 'incorrect.' And in another place he says, 'If we would define faith so as to exclude every kind of superstition, we must call it a *being resolved or convinced* respecting the truth of something 'recognised.'

Thus we see that the starting point of Hermes, and consequently the whole structure, is essentially rationalism. Rationalism and faith are necessarily irreconcilable with each other: faith in the common acceptation of the term, is, as described by Hermes, deference to the authority of a superior intelligence; while rationalism, on the contrary, is the holding a thing to be true or false upon the decision or the conviction of our own unaided reason. It is in vain that Hermes would persuade us, that when once reason has discovered the truth of the Christian revelation, it is then bound to believe the particular doctrines revealed, even should they be unreasonable. It is a mockery to give to reason the power of deciding on the truth or falsehood of a revelation, unless it is according to the reasonableness of its contents that the decision is to be made. The order of thinking in each individual mind would not be: 'I am convinced of the reasonableness of the revelation, and therefore I will believe its contents to be true;' — 'but, I am convinced of the reasonableness of the contents, and therefore I will believe the truth of the revelation.' In his own case, however, Hermes endeavoured to follow the opposite course; with how little success is apparent in his posthumous work, the '*Christ-Katholische Dogmatik*,' which professes to be a defence of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, setting out from the conviction previously obtained, of the truth of the Christian revelation. As he only doubted in order to be able to believe, so now he seems to remember but too well, that it was only by doubting that his belief was obtained.

Hermes was neither a thinker nor a writer of the first order: but he was heart and soul in his system; he toiled at it day and night; and he had a wonderful faculty of inspiring his hearers with a sort of enthusiasm for the cause he advocated. It was, in fact, very evident that he was thoroughly in earnest, and that is, in many cases, the secret of success. In the year 1807 he became professor of dogmatic theology at the academy of Münster in Westphalia; and from the year 1820 until his death, which took place in 1831, he filled the same office in the

newly-founded university of Bonn. During this period he instilled his principles into a great number of admiring pupils, and it is said that in 1835 his system had been adopted in every Catholic university of Germany. He died in honour and renown, and his obsequies were celebrated amid universal sympathy, not only at Bonn, but also at Münster, which he had quitted eleven years before.

Up to the period of his death, and even for some years afterwards, the success of his teaching appears to have created no extraordinary alarm at Rome, or among the Romish party of Catholic Germany. But in September, 1835, a papal 'breve' was unexpectedly published, totally condemning the system of Hermes, and requiring all ecclesiastical authorities not only to discard his works from the seminaries of learning, but also to warn their flocks against 'feeding on such poisonous pastures.'

The papal 'breve' takes a very plain and intelligible view of the whole matter. It very properly avoids singling out particular passages, or heretical statements in the writings of Hermes; and contents itself with a sweeping condemnation of the whole system, on the broad ground, that the author 'has rashly departed from, and even haughtily despised and condemned, the royal road, which universal tradition and the holy Fathers have pointed out, in the exposition and defence of the verities of faith; and that he has paved a dark way to errors of every kind, in making positive doubt the basis of all theological inquiry; and in establishing the principle, that reason is the chief rule, and the only means, by which man can arrive at the knowledge of supernatural truths.'

Here we find the Church exercising her legitimate conservative office, resisting innovation, and boldly opposing the introduction of a fatal rationalism. Unimportant indeed, as the history of German Protestantism shows, is the prevalence of errors, even of fatal heresies, on isolated points, compared with the entrance of a wrong method of arriving at the truth, an erroneous rule of faith. And yet this is the momentous question, which more and more is absorbing all others; which under one form or another is appearing and reappearing, year after year, in every Christian country. It is no longer on isolated points of doctrine that men are disputing; they are doubting whether there be a doctrine? It is no longer whether they are holding the true faith that they are asking, but what is faith? Two views on this subject, and two only, are possible; the one is, that faith is the conviction of the individual mind; the other is, that faith is a deference to authority, the authority of God embodied in His Church. Mystify mankind with as many phrases as we will, it is to one or the other of these definitions

that we must at last return. Conceal it from others and from ourselves, defer the day of choosing our side as long as we may, it is to a division upon this question that we must ultimately come. And even now the division is taking place; all minor differences are falling away; Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and dissenters, it is according to our views upon this subject, that even now we are ranging ourselves upon the field of battle.

The rulers of the Church of Rome have therefore taken their position upon a wise and a just ground, and deserve the gratitude not only of the members of her communion, but of all sincere Christians. We shall not be suspected of imagining that her doctrines are free from errors; but, assuredly, it were better that one-half of the Christian world should hold them as they are, than that they should resort to human reason to prepare a new creed for them. We have already adverted to the example of Lutheranism: Germany never boasted a theologian who was more orthodox in his adherence to every article of her professed creed, or more eager in its support, than Wolff; and yet he was the real founder of the whole system of the neology now prevailing, with all its blasphemy and unbelief. It is true that Lutheranism had no means of resistance: there was a Church only in name, totally devoid of any real energy or substantial power; and the puny opposition of the temporal rulers, who had made themselves petty popes, served but to hasten the progress of the invading philosophy. Again, and this was even more important, the leaders of the Reformation, in asserting the right of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, had established a principle, the consequences of which, sooner or later, were sure to appear and to prevail. The rapidity with which philosophy, when once it showed itself upon the theological arena, carried every thing before it, and became all in all to the German Protestant divines, is the best proof of the inconsistency of which Luther was guilty, when he made human reason supremely capable of judging one set of divine truths, and at the same time asserted it to be utterly powerless, and incapable of taking cognizance of another.

The Church of Rome, on the contrary, has no such difficulties to contend with. Whether the supremacy of her patriarchal ruler is usurped and illegal, or not; it is a real substantial power, and admirably adapted to its purpose. So likewise, in resisting the introduction of a new rule of faith, she is guilty of no inconsistency; admitting that she has herself innovated and permitted additions to the faith; still she has, in principle, adhered to one rule, the royal road which she commends; she has never authorized the use of private judgment; and we are never more disposed to indulge in sanguine hopes for her advance to greater

purity, than when we behold her, as in the case before us, wielding her enormous power with energy and wisdom, and opposing the progress of that false philosophy, which puts on the appearance of an angel of light, only that it may lead those whom it seduces, into darkness and perplexity. If ever Germany regains the character of a religious and a believing people, assuredly it will be owing to the efforts of the Church of Rome, unacknowledged, disowned though they may be by the majority of the nation.

The papal 'breve' appeared, and fell like a thunderbolt among the German Catholic professors; but they had learned their new system too well to resign, without a struggle, their individual convictions in deference to the authority of the Head of their Church. They could not, however, openly resist that authority; and they resorted, therefore, to the excuse, which has invariably been adopted by every party, which has incurred the censure of the Pope, and is not disposed to yield implicit submission. They declared their entire concurrence in the opinions expressed in the 'breve;' they looked with abhorrence upon every attempt to introduce dangerous novelties into the doctrines of the Church; they would willingly abjure any heresies which might be contained in the Hermesian writings; but,—they denied the fact that there were any; they protested that their system was in the strictest accordance with the Catholic doctrine; the Pope, they said, had been deceived by false translations and garbled extracts, and they appealed 'from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed.'

Here was abundant matter for another new controversy, or rather for the revival of a very old one. The nature and the extent of the infallibility which is to be ascribed to the Pope, have always been favourite topics with those whose opinions have been condemned by him; and the Hermesians eagerly seized upon this question, and commenced a controversy which is still raging with unabated violence. In doing so, they showed considerable skill; they diverted the public attention from the real point at issue, where they had the worst of the argument, and engaged it in a much more popular question, in which they had decidedly the best. They concealed the fact that the papal 'breve' had purposely abstained from stigmatizing particular passages in the writings of Hermes as heretical; and had rather condemned the tendency of the whole system as anti-catholic and fatal; and they pretended to believe that the Pope was actually ignorant of the real nature of their contents. And in order to strengthen the inference which they drew from this statement, they resorted to the '*distinctio juris et facti*,' an argument which was especially rendered notorious by the Jansenists in the seventeenth century. They had, in truth, an easy

task; it was easy to show that from the time of St. Augustine, every Bishop of Rome has reversed, not only the decisions of his predecessors, but, in many cases, his own; and that these decisions and reversals had reference to the most important doctrines, and the most important measures, exercising a powerful influence upon the welfare of the Church, and the purity of her doctrine. It was easy to show that Origen, Paul of Samosata, Arius, Athanasius, Pelagius, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoretus, Abailard, and many others, had been alternately condemned and acquitted, even by general councils, with the concurrence of the Popes; it was easy to show that the sentences of Petrus Lombardus, the writings of Galilei, the works of Belarmin, the Ecclesiastical History of Natalis Alexander, which were all at a later period commended by Rome, and adopted in her theological colleges, were at one time in the index of forbidden books. It was as easy to show, that with regard to the adoption of most important legislative measures, such as the suppression of the order of Jesuits, a change of purpose has been manifested, which is incompatible with the idea of an infallibility in matters of fact.

But a little consideration will show that this question, so artfully raised, and so strenuously maintained, does not, after all, materially affect the real point at issue. An immense majority of Roman Catholic divines have always admitted the truth of the distinction pleaded by the Hermesians; nay, the infallibility of the Pope, even on points of doctrine, has been denied by many to be a dogma of their Church. The Irish bishops, in their celebrated declaration of 1826, assert that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, and that they are not bound to believe, that the Pope is infallible. In the 'Catechism of the distinctive doctrines of Catholics and Protestants,' published in 1844, under the sanction of the Archbishop-coadjutor of Cologne, the great mover in Germany against Hermesianism, it is as distinctly stated, that "the Church has never decided that the Pope is infallible." Bossuet relates, that the doctrine of the infallibility was first asserted at the council of Florence, and Fleury names the Dominican Cajetan as its author.

But the question for true members of the Church of Rome, is not whether the Pope is infallible, but whether they are to receive his decisions as if he were. 'The Church,' says Count Joseph de Maistre, who has placed the subject in its true light, 'must, in some way or other, be governed just as every other society, otherwise there would no longer be any catholicity, or any unity. The governing power is, then, by its very nature, infallible—that is to say, absolute; otherwise it would no longer govern.' 'The question is not merely whether the Supreme Pontiff is infallible, but whether he must be infallible.' The

Pope, according to the present constitution of the Church of Rome, is the governing power, the last tribunal, from which there is, and can be, no appeal; and, therefore, whether his judgment is really correct or not, absolute submission is the duty of all, who would not renounce her communion. Of such submission an illustrious example was afforded by Fénélon, who retracted without reserve all that had been condemned, and submitted himself implicitly to the decision of the papal chair.

And on this view of the subject there can be no distinction between doctrine and fact. Under every government disputed facts, as well as disputed doctrines, must be submitted to some tribunal, from which, if unity is to be preserved, there can be no appeal; and, the legality of the tribunal once recognised, it is the duty of all the subjects of that government to aid in the accomplishment of its decrees.

And in this point of duty the 'last Hermesians' have signally failed. That they should labour for a reversal of the papal decree,—that they should send a deputation to Rome to counteract the influence of the supposed calumniators of Hermes, and to open the eyes of the Pope to the real nature of the Hermesian system,—was perfectly just and natural; but that, until such a reversal was pronounced, and even after their attempt to convince the Pope of his mistake, they should refuse submission, was a manifest breach of the duty, which is due from every sincere Romanist to the supreme ruler of his Church.

The Archbishop of Cologne, the austere and venerable Clement Augustus, Baron Droste zu Vischering, in the execution of his duty of suppressing the Hermesian doctrine, resorted to the following measures: 1. He addressed a circular to all the priests in the town of Bonn, instructing them what answers to return to any questions which might be proposed to them, respecting the Hermesian writings, in the confessional. 2. He published eighteen theses, to which he required the subscription of all the clergy in his diocese. 3. He refused to give his sanction to the courses of lectures announced by the Catholic professors at the University of Bonn. This last measure was followed by the most important consequences; it interrupted the career of all theological students, and concerning the more interesting question of mixed marriages, involved the Archbishop in difficulties with the Prussian government, which ended in his forced resignation of his see: not however, without the admission on the part of Prussia, that the measures adopted for the suppression of Hermesianism were entirely justified, as well as perfectly legal. The new archbishop persevered accordingly in the same course; the negotiations have been carried on during several years, and all the disciples of Hermes have finally submitted, except two of the professors of Bonn, Braun and Achter-

felt, who, with the concurrence of the Prussian government have now been deprived of their offices.

The last work upon our list is the most important among the numerous publications, which have appeared in defence of these, perhaps, very conscientious men, but certainly very bad Catholics. All that has been demanded of them amounts to a simple declaration, that they sincerely and heartily subject themselves to the whole and to every part of the papal decrees respecting the Hermesian writings. The unfortunate professors declare that their consciences will not permit them to comply with this demand, inasmuch as the expressions in the 'breve' imply that the doctrines promulgated by Hermes were erroneous, and that his writings contain heretical statements. This, they say, is contrary to fact; a fact of which the Pope is not an infallible judge, and to his judgment of which they cannot therefore with a good conscience submit.

"Whoever holds with us the firm conviction, that Hermes was not the man which he is described to be in the 'breve,' and that the condemned doctrines are not in reality contained in his works, cannot sign the required declaration, without either making use of a mental reservation, or directly bearing false witness."—P. 6.

Certainly the 'last Hermesians' have inconveniently tender consciences; but as certainly they have taken the very worst method of convincing the Pope that they do not share the dangerous error which is imputed to Hermes. Their whole argument is, in fact, the very clearest exemplification of the Hermesian method. Their formal acquiescence in a certain sentence is demanded; that sentence is founded upon the solemn decision of the very highest authority to which an appeal can be made; an authority to which, by the very constitution of their Church, they are bound to defer. But they dissent from the decision; they refuse compliance with the sentence; and to what higher tribunal do they appeal? To private judgment. Each person, they maintain, must yield or withhold his signature, according as he holds, or not, the individual conviction; that the writings of Hermes contain the imputed errors. What is this but the same principle, which has been used to justify every act of schism, and to swell the ranks of every leader of dissent? Liberty of conscience is the cry, with which authority has always been resisted; and among the Taper and Tadpole school so well described by the author of *Coningsby*, a 'good cry' may sometimes bring a temporary success. But surely every branch of the Catholic Church must be animated by higher motives; or the result will inevitably be that fatal indifference to doctrinal truth, which has speedily become the curse of every part of Christendom, in which individual conviction has taken the place of faith, and liberty of conscience been substituted for a willing obedience.

- ART. IV.—1. *Michelet. History of France. Part I.* Translated by G. H. SMITH, F.G.S. London: Whittaker. 1844.
 2. *Thierry. Narratives of the Merovingian Era.* Translated. London: Whittaker. 1844.

WHETHER or no there be any perfect ideal of historical composition, the one best form of writing history for all ages and countries, if we look to experience, we find that in fact each age has ever had a fashion of its own, differing from that which preceded and followed it. We do not speak of writers contemporary with the events they write of. Such, even though the most jejune of annalists, must always have an interest independent of their form. But we speak of regular history, complete accounts of nations or countries, compiled in later times from books and records. Such history is a distinct species of composition, a work of art, having its own principles of taste to be guided and judged by.

Such history, almost more than any other branch of literature, varies with the age that produces it. Contemporary history never dies; Thucydides and Clarendon are immortal; but, on the other hand, no reputation is so fleeting as that of the "standard" historian of his day. A review of the historical literature of any nation will discover an endless series of decay and reproduction. The fate of the historian is like those of the dynasties he writes of; they spring up and flourish, and bear rule and seem established for ever; but time goes on, their strength passes away, and at last some young and vigorous usurper comes and pushes them from their throne. It is not because new facts are continually accumulating, because criticism is growing more rigid, or even because style varies; but because ideas change, the whole mode and manner of looking at things alters with every age; and so every generation requires facts to be recast in its own mould, demands that the history of its forefathers be rewritten from its own point of view. When Hume superseded Echard, his admiring contemporaries little thought that Hume himself would so rapidly become obsolete. Hooke was considered to have exhausted the history of the Roman Republic, and his *Roman History* to be the final book on the subject; but great as is the distance between him and Arnold, it is inevitable, in the course of things, that the next century will have to compose its own "History of Rome." And these mutations of popular favour involve the smaller satellites as well as the great planets of the historical heaven; Mrs. Trimmer and Goldsmith, pale before the rising light of Keightly

and Mrs. Markham, as the subs of office quit their desks when premiers deliver up their portfolios.

Our own immediate age is confessedly rich in works of the historical class. Poetry we have almost none, and but little philosophy; but history has attracted great attention among us. If among the varied merits of the successful writers of history who have appeared within the last twenty years, we were to select one trait which seems above others to be a common characteristic, it would be their vivid descriptive character, their painting their narrative to the eye. The personages of the story go through their parts before us like actors on the stage, with a rich and strongly-drawn background of scenery. We may call this kind of history—pictorial history. All writers, who are themselves gifted with strong imaginations, are masters of description; but with us this style is not a native gift, or a happy genius, but the result of art, to be learnt like other arts, or rather is attained by going through a uniform mechanical process. Take two or three old chroniclers, rapidly select the striking bits, such as will tell, translate them in a quaint antique phrase; and whenever any town is mentioned, get the description of it out of the nearest county history, and the business is done. The herd of superficial writers are, however, the index of the public taste. No reader can be insensible to the spell which such a master-hand as Thierry's wields by means of his graphic narration.

If we are right in thinking that this *picturesque* character is the common feature of our historians now, we may venture further to assert that it is not accidentally so, that it is no isolated fact, but only one instance of our whole moral condition. So prevailing a taste is something more than one of those transient fluctuating fashions which change with each generation of general readers, but one deeply seated in the mind of our age.

An attention, then, to external form, to accuracy of representation, is characteristic of an age of refinement. Such an age implies two things: a state of leisure and tranquillity, and a deficiency of moral energy, arising chiefly from the smoothness with which the current of social life runs down. Leisure gives a wide extent of knowledge and information. Generations of antiquarians have heaped together vast piles of facts, and have thus provided an abundance of raw material ready for our use. The philologist is the historian's pioneer; and no one can pretend fitly to write of any period who has not made himself master of all the facts preserved concerning it; and then the second of the two causes we have named, the quiet and even tenour of existence will determine our interest towards the secondary rather than the primary objects of knowledge. A time of peace and security inevitably tends to foster an umbratile and

academic science. Curiosity is withdrawn from the momentous questions which have interest only for noble souls; and an attenuated pedantry coldly wonders at the "little importance of the points theologians have been ready to die for." Then is the age of little, well-informed minds. It is only when the contest between good and evil becomes sharp and deadly, when men are forced into daily and hourly action in matters where they cannot be indifferent spectators,—it is only in entering heart and soul into the dust and heat of the Church's war with the world,—that the mind comes within the sphere of great principles, and begins to feel their imperious right to control its movements.

"When religion and the interests of the soul are the subjects of debate, the sparks of human energy are kindled as by a charm, and spread with the rapidity of an electric fluid. Opinions work upon actions, and actions re-act upon opinions; the defence of truth or error stirs up the moral powers, and leads men on to deeds of vigour; and the effects of active zeal reflect upon the opinions and systems of men, and raise them to those heights of speculative and logical abstraction, which are the wonder of beholders, and the enigma of future generations."—*Life of S. Germanus*, p. 14.

It would be leading us too far from our subject to show that an over-estimation of the trappings of social life is a prevalent turn of mind among us now. How it pervades all art, painting, engraving, architecture; how it has driven all true acting from the stage; how some have even sought to find an instance to their purpose in Shakspeare himself; for that his Romans are true Romans,—his barons, the genuine Norman barons;—Shakspeare, who seems to have purposely outraged costume, to have wantonly trampled on historical proprieties, as if for the purpose of showing that the true greatness of the dramatist lies in exhibiting man,—the broad traits of human character,—not the peculiarities of national manners.

If, however, it be the fact, that this taste be thus prevalent and deeply seated, the writer of history must conform to it, and endeavour to use it in the best way it admits of being used.

Now, as we well know that mere chronology, or the retention in the memory of facts, is often mistaken for history, and yet that all that is true is, that such dry knowledge is only the alphabet of history; so, though this pictorial history is far from being the proper end of historical science, yet is it a most valuable assistance in the study. "That we do not understand the ancients unless we frame distinct notions of such objects of their every-day life, as we have in common with them, under the forms their eyes were accustomed to; that we should go totally astray if, on reading of a Roman house, a Roman ship, Roman dress,

or the interior of a Roman household, we conceived the same notions which answer to those words in our own days" (*Niebuhr*), is indisputable; but we need continually to remember that such fidelity of conception is but the vehicle of the truths which history seeks to teach us. We must steer between two opposite faults; we must not yield too much to imagination, which is to turn poet; nor, on the other hand, must we confine ourselves to bare cataloguing of facts, which is to act the antiquarian instead of the historian. Both these extremes are deviations from the true path of history, but far from being both equally faulty. The former is the generous error of an early and simple age; the latter, the mean vice of a late and refined one. The former is the tendency of buoyant and high-hearted youth; the latter, of plodding and calculating middle-life. In youth, the ideal is all-in-all to us; and the imagination is all-sufficient to furnish and body forth the shapes which Poetry has drawn for us. Poetry is then the mind's natural aliment; we scorn facts, and prefer the true to the actual. But society will not listen to what it mocks at as "mere theory;" and genius, which seems the common inheritance of the young and ardent, after being often cruelly overthrown by unexpected demands of proof and data for its assertions, either retires altogether from the attempt to make itself heard, or vents itself in the half-reserve of poetry, or more commonly descends into the arena of life to contend now on unequal terms against the sharp pettifogging intellect by which the world's prizes are carried off.

The same distinction obtains between an early and a late age of the world, as between the youth and manhood of the man. An early age dressed history in the garb of fancy; it conceived the externals of man and the forms of art, of which it read or heard, no otherwise than those which it saw every day before its eyes. The Italian painters of the sixteenth century drew the twelve patriarchs and the senators of old Rome both equally in the robe of the citizen of Florence, or the Apostles in a Dominican's gown. Petrarch looks on Stefano Colonna as an old patrician, and Rienzi as a tribune of the people. As in Dante's eyes Virgil was a Lombard; or as in the middle ages the Parthenon was identified with the Temple of the Unknown God, and the Temple of Theseus was supposed a church of St. George. The richness of the Gothic genius thus suffusing with its own hues and colouring, and so blending into one all ages, nations, and faiths, as in the harmonious variety of one of its gorgeous windows, symbolizing the universal triumph of Christianity. In this case, the mind, manly and vigorous, looks at the essential, rather than the accident; at the man, rather than his dress. It goes direct to the substance of history, to that which is really

philosophical in it, and neglects only the shell and husk of history. Its conscience is more active than its taste. It looks at actions to see what may be their ethic content; what instruction for practice they afford. It is a wise, but not a learned age.

But the tendency of a highly civilized age is to be learned and informed rather than wise. Its points of contact with the history of past times are many, but they are all on the surface; it just misses the few deep points on which the life and heart of the old age was centred. It attends to the externals of history, to "the transitory forms which it assumes, rather than to the principles of permanent application which it includes." Correctness of costume is its great aim in writing history. Hence, its personages are like the figures in Madame Tussaud's exhibition, strong likenesses, but of the body and clothes, not of the soul. They are works of ingenuity, not of art. Last of all, a dry, dusty, and soulless antiquarianism comes in and quenches the lamp of history. More than one able historian has made shipwreck on this shoal. In a laborious anxiety to be correct, they have evaporated away all the spirit of their book. It is a much worse symptom when this spirit invades the sacred history of the Church. It has done so, we fear, among us to a pernicious extent. A nation indifferent to the creeds, is seized with a sudden passion for ecclesiastical art. We read Bingham, and fancy we are studying ecclesiastical history. Descriptions of religious ceremonies, the interior of monasteries, the dress and food of the monks, are favourite reading with persons who are quite unable to follow, even in thought, the interior purpose, the inward life, the description of whose outward forms is their every-day study. Far more respectable and consistent indeed than this fashionable coxcombry, which pollutes by its patronising dilettanteism the relics of middle-age art, while it spurns the religion which inspired that art, and can alone give it meaning, was the honest ferocity of the sixteenth century which broke painted windows, defaced coats of arms, cut up illuminated missals, and violated sepulchral monuments—just as the Turks had done at Constantinople,—because they bore the image and print of "the beast."

At the head of the class of the pictorial historians stands Augustus Thierry.* He is no mere antiquarian. His graphic narrative has all the vividness that art can give to description of what the describer has not actually witnessed. Yet he never loses himself in mere ornamental description for description's sake. He uses it for the sake of giving relief to the events. He paints to the understanding through the eye. He stands

* His brother Amadeus has written a laborious History of the Gauls.

thus midway between the contemporary historian of the old age, and the modern antiquarian historian. In the same way as Rubens stands between the old masters, and the miniature Dutch school. For the Flemish artist, transcendent as his merit is, has more affinity with the latter school, which is yet so far beneath him, than with the former. If then the error be guarded against of thinking this knowledge of the external desirable for its own sake—of treating history as if it were a series of *tableaux vivans* intended to please the eye, the picturesque is one of the most happy and appropriate of the forms in which history can clothe itself. It is naturally a great help to a right understanding of the inward thing. "I have seemed to myself," says one who is certainly not chargeable with neglect of the substantial of historical science, "to gain a far more lively impression of what James I. was, ever since I read those humorous scenes in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, which remind one so forcibly, that he spoke a broad Scotch dialect."*

And it is not only the most fitting form, but some degree of it may be safely said to be the indispensable form for modern readers. Perspective is not essential to a picture as a work of art: yet how grotesque and insupportable would be a modern painting which should neglect it! The eye once accustomed to it cannot dispense with it. No one now reads Machiavel or Mitford; yet, notwithstanding all the vast additions made since they wrote to our just knowledge of Greece and Rome, which of the more recent historians who have so far surpassed them in accuracy of detail, in scholarship, in familiarity with the habits and temper of the classical nations, have come near them in the vigour and truth which they threw into that history, in drawing from it lessons of practical wisdom and statesmanlike policy?

We can well understand how a mind, which either by training or accident, has habitually thus cultivated imagination in connexion with historical study, will find one of its highest pleasures in actually visiting the scenes which have been long familiar to it in books. This is the richest reward of the student of history, one of the advantages which his pursuit has over those of a more abstract nature, when he is thus enabled to fix and localize the events on which he speculates, to verify and give material substance to what were otherwise the shadows of names and places. It is this that gives its chief charm to travel. Indeed, the instinct of pilgrimage, as it has been said, "belongs not exclusively to religion at all. It is the simplest dictate of our nature, though piety has consecrated the practice and marked it for her own. Patriotism, poetry, philanthropy, all

* Arnold's Lectures.

the arts and all the finer feelings, have their pilgrimages, their hallowed spots of intense interest, their haunts of fancy and inspiration. It is the first impulse of every genuine affection, the tendency of the heart, in its fervent youthhood; and nothing but the cold scepticism of an age which Burke so truly designated as that of calculators and economists, could scoff at the enthusiasm that feeds on noble ruins, that visits with emotion the battlefield, and the abbey, Shakspeare's grave, or Galileo's cell, or Runnimede, or Marathon." (*Prout's Reliques.*)

The truth is, that that magnetic influence which irresistibly draws our feet to spots on which our imagination has long fed, is an instinct of our nature, and that in this, as in other respects, the Church did but take into her service, and propose a fitting object to, an impulse which will vent itself in some form or other. There have been pilgrims both before and since the ages of faith, the ages when the Church bore sway over every action of life. Only she sent them to the tombs of saints and martyrs, and filled their paths with sacred associations, instead of leaving them to roam at will in search of the relics of pagans or infidels, with Byron or Rousseau in their pockets as the companions of their way. The Church cannot be said to have created pilgrimages, or even to have encouraged them—she suffered them, and gave them a direction which might, at least, edify. But "*qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur*" is her doctrine. At the same time she conceived doubtless, that she might do much worse than in proposing to our imitation the example of those unknown Three, the earliest Christian pilgrims, for whose guidance and consolation in their journey a new star was created—and in directing the footsteps of her children more especially to that land which has been hallowed for ever by the presence of one, who is the Lord, Whose servants the saints and martyrs are

This is a task quite distinct from a love of grand scenery—a love of nature. For this we must go to particular spots of the earth, where there are mountains, rocks, lakes. North America or South Africa, lands the least interesting to the historical traveller, will supply the richest objects to the lover of scenery. It is the old historical lands of Europe that the lover of history longs to explore. None of these are more attractive to him than France. Its natural scenery preeminently, in western Europe at least, tame, and uniform; but rich beyond all others in the traces of the men of old, and the associations of the past. For ourselves, at least were we younger, we could gaze for hours with Froissart on our knee, over that boundless plain of Languedoc, convicted of all guide-books of being arid, brown, and wholly uninteresting. This old Languedoc, Roman and Gothic still. 'Descend from

‘ Cahors, its slopes clothed with vines, and you find yourself in the country of the mulberries. Spread before you a landscape of some thirty or forty leagues, a vast ocean of tillage, a confused mass, losing itself in the vapour of the distant horizon, above which rises the fantastic outline of the Pyrenees with their silvery peaks. Oxen, yoked together by the horns, slowly beneath the eye of an ardent sun, labour this fertile valley. At mid-day, a storm; the ground becomes a lake; in an hour the sun has restored it to its state of dust. At night you enter some big dull town; Toulouse if you will. At the first sound of that nasal accent you might think yourself in Italy; and look at the faces of the people, they are not French, quite another thing, Moorish perhaps, or Spanish.’ (*Michelet*.)

Nor, we hope, are we singular. Among the shoals of the frivolous and dissipated which this country annually discharges upon the continent, there are, we would hope, to be found some few thoughtful travellers who are attracted to foreign lands by a love of the localities associated with the memory of the great and the saintly of ancient times. Such is perhaps the nearest approach we may make to the motives of the Christian pilgrim. Such a voyager, if it has ever been his hap to turn his feet to Orleans, and descending to the water-side to embark in one of the tiny iron steamers belonging to M. Larochjacqueline, glide with sinuous course down the Loire, its banks still clad with the broom which gave their title to the Plantagenets, the sunny and laughing landscape once only gloomily broken as we sweep beneath the frowning Blois; such a voyager will seldom feel this spell upon his spirit more powerfully than when, before sunset of a long summer's day, the little vessel is moored to the quay of Tours.

What a host of thoughts and images that one name carries! The ecclesiastical capital of early France—what Canterbury was to England—the depository of the wonder-working remains of the Apostle of Gaul, the light of the Western Church in the fourth century. The virtue of St. Martin's precious relics was in most active operation during the fifth and sixth centuries. The miracles and power of the saint called forth the devotion and munificence of the people, poor and rich alike, and Tours became the centre round which churches, monasteries, and religious foundations crowded. Of all this what now remains? The healing power had been long withdrawn, and at last Providence was pleased to permit the body itself which He had so highly endowed to be dishonoured and carried off. With it went the splendour which had accumulated round it. The Huguenots had pillaged the shrine; the revolution swept it away altogether. Of the vast cathedral of St. Martin, of whose

abbey the king of France was Abbot, and a crowd of the great of all lands were canons, two towers are all that remain. The Church of St. Julian, equal in size to most cathedrals, was in 1842 a coach-house, and at the very time we are now writing, is placarded with bills, "To be sold or let." Grope among those vineyards and orchards in the little village over the bridge, you may detect an archway, and a piece of a wall; that was the abbey of Marmontier, founded by St. Martin himself. All this is familiar enough to us in our own country—but it strikes us more in one which is still to so great an extent catholic as France. Are the Church's saints in this respect like the heroes of the world, that there may come a time when they shall be as though they had never been? when all that the Church retains of them is the memory of their example; and that a book is a more enduring legacy than a saintly life, and a body gifted with miraculous power?

For so it is, that while the Church of France possesses not a vestige of St. Martin, another saint of the same city of Tours has left a book which is not only esteemed in the Church, but has had the honour, which the actions of saints so seldom have, of commanding the respect of the world. The "History of the Franks" of St. Gregory is not only a most valuable monument of the history of the early French monarchy, but it is the only one. It is in this respect like Bede's "History of the English nation," though widely different from it in other respects. But for Bede we should know nothing of the early history of the Saxons in England—without Gregory of Tours, we should be equally ignorant of the first settlement of the Franks in Gaul. But in all other points it is a complete contrast to Bede. In the first place, the style of Bede, if not elegant Latin, is yet correct, sufficiently classical. It is a written style, such as was learnt in the cloister schools by the help of Donat, Tullius Rhetorica, and matured by reading the Latin fathers, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose. St. Gregory of Tours has no style, barely grammar; barbarisms and solecisms of all kinds abound, and the brevity and conciseness with which events most important to understanding his narrative are related, if it does not make his meaning obscure, at least requires great attention in the reader not to overlook anything. In the opening he "prays pardon of his readers if he should in letter or syllable infringe the art of grammar, with which he is indeed not fully imbued." In fact, Bede is writing in a dead language, Gregory in a living. Bede no doubt spoke it and heard it spoken every day in cloister, but then he had learned to do so from books; Saxon came first and readiest to his lips. While the Latin which Gregory writes, is with little difference, his native tongue.

The difference is not less in the matter of the two histories. Bede viewed the world only from the retirement of his cell. He knew events chiefly as they appeared in books. Even the history of his own time is drawn from what was communicated to him. So that, however correct it may be, it wants that truth of delineation which can only be given by one who has been himself an agent in the scenes he describes. This St. Gregory was. For the ten books of which his history consists may be divided, as regards the authority on which it rests, into four portions. 1. All that precedes the arrival of the Franks in Thuringia is little more than a short chronological epitome of the history of the world derived from some of the compendious chronicles then in use, and abounding in errors. 2. From this period to the middle of the sixth century his materials are chiefly Sulpicius Alexander, the letters of Sidonius, St. Remigius, and the *Gesta* of the saints of the period. 3. For the generation preceding his own time his authority is tradition, chiefly that of his uncle St. Gall, and St. Avitus, successive bishops of Clermont, in whose house St. Gregory was brought up. 4. The last forty or fifty years he describes what he himself saw and knew, and in which he played an active part.

This is therefore the most valuable part of the book. He occupied the see of Tours twenty-three years, from 573 to 596. The value and interest of the last five books of his history which are occupied with this period, we should rate far higher than any part of the writer who stands in a similar relation to our own history, and with whom we have already compared him. They are not the learned and accurate arrangement of the annals of the several Frankish kingdoms, the successions of the bishops, royal houses, etc., all which is indeed most valuable to the antiquarian, but dry and profitless to others. On the contrary, they present a living stirring picture of the Church and State of those days: the rude violence, and unscrupulous cunning of the Merovingian princes; their ambition and lawless passions; brought into contact with a moral power claiming their obedience, and forcing from them a sort of recognition of its claims, while they at the same time endeavoured by some clumsy expedient, or grotesque ruse, to evade it. The Church studying the barbarian temper for the purpose of winning it to Christ; often obliged to give way, but never compromising principle; always yielding as to brute force, not out of a timid complaisance; managing, coaxing the despot, as a fond nurse an overgrown and dangerous child, not fawning upon him as on a patron who has much to give. For no chair of dignified ease was a bishop's throne in the sixth century. To do one's duty thoroughly is not easy in the most peaceable times. But then a

conscientious bishop might be truly said to place his life in jeopardy every hour. Not even within the precincts of a Turkish seraglio were the knife and the poison-cup more lavishly employed than by Fredegonde.

"This genuine female barbarian possessed herself of the poor king of Neustria, more a theologian and grammarian than a prince; who owed to the crimes his queen perpetrated in his name, the title of the Frankish Nero. She made him first strangle his legitimate spouse Galswinthe; her sons-in-law followed; then the rival king of Ostrasia Sighebert. This terrible woman, surrounded by men whom her genius for murder had fascinated, deranging their minds by drugged beverages, beautiful and deadly, devoted to pagan superstitions, might be taken for a Scandinavian Walkirie."*

Such was the true and patient policy of the Church, and such the situation of those bishops who were faithful to their Master's calling. For there were without doubt many of a very different stamp, as the following narrative will show, while it will at the same time give a far better idea of the state of things under the Merovingian princes, than any comments of ours. Gregory himself is the chief actor, and exhibits in a situation of the utmost difficulty and peril, a union of prudence, tact, firmness, and unshrinking principle, which may furnish an example for a Christian bishop in all ages.

It may just be premised for the sake of making our story more intelligible, that the Franks had been in Gaul now about a century (the event we are about to narrate occurred in the year 577), and that the footing on which they stood with the old Gallo-Roman population was now pretty well understood on both sides. The Franks were the stronger, and therefore the masters; the Romans were the more able, and therefore indispensable to their masters, who were thus obliged to use them well. And this good usage was not entirely dependent on the caprice of the Frank, but was secured by law, if that could be called security which he had the power of violating whenever he chose. They were something in the relation of the Turk and the Greek in Greece, before the Greek revolution; with this important difference, that the Frank owed submission to the religion of the vanquished party, and learned with implicit submission his faith from the mouth of the Roman priest.

In a territorial point of view, the Frank empire was divided into three portions—which the chronicles, latinising the Frank terms, call the kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundia. Tours was comprehended in Neustria, which, under Chilperic,

* Michelet, i. 227.

extended from the Meuse almost to the present southern limits of France. Chilperic's capital was Soissons. Sighebert, king of Austrasia, or the East, which extended from Bar-sur-Aube into Bohemia, had lately fallen a victim to Fredegonde's assassins, and the throne was occupied by a minor, whose mother, the famous Brunchilde, governed as regent for him. Merovig, a son of Chilperic, but not of Fredegonde, had married Sighebert's widow, Brunchilde. Sighebert was his uncle, and marriage with his uncle's widow was forbidden by the law of God, the canons of the Church. It was also, but for quite another reason, highly displeasing to his father Chilperic. Merovig however found one who was willing, from personal attachment to himself, to violate the canons, and to brave Chilperic's or rather Fredegonde's resentment, by performing the marriage sacrament between himself and the Austrasian queen. This was the bishop of Rouen, Prætextatus, who from the day when he had held the young prince over the baptismal font, had felt for him one of those devoted unreasoning attachments, of which only a mother or a nurse are thought capable.

This was Prætextatus's offence. It was Fredegonde's object to punish him for it. And the surest and least obnoxious means of doing so seemed to be, by bringing him to a regular trial before a synod of bishops for his flagrant infraction of the canon law, in giving the marriage benediction to persons related in the degree in which Merovig and Brunchilde were.

The Trial of Prætextatus.

The bishops within the limits of the kingdom of Neustria were summoned to meet in synod, at Paris, at the latter end of the spring of 577. Chilperic and Fredegonde journeyed from their capital, Soissons, to attend it in person. The assembly was to be held in the Church of St. Genoveva, which crowned a height at no great distance from the City Island, then confined within the two arms of the Seine. The church had been built by Clovis, at the time of his departure for the war against the Visigoths. Arrived at the destined spot, he hurled his battle-axe straight before him, that the length of the edifice might remain a standing monument of the vigour of the Frank conqueror's right arm. It was one of those basilicas of the fifth and sixth centuries, built in imitation of the earlier Roman basilicas, more remarkable for the richness of their decorations than for beauty of architectural proportions. Its interior was ornamented with marble columns, and a profusion of paint, carving, and gilding; like one of the Jesuits' churches of the seventeenth century. Its roof was sheeted, like St. Peter's, with copper.

On the appointed day, forty-five prelates were assembled

within its walls. The king, attended by some of his leudes, armed only with their swords, entered; but the body of inferior Franks who had followed him from Soissons, posted themselves, fully armed, outside, under the portico, occupying all the entrances. Under such circumstances an obnoxious criminal stood, we might suppose, small chance of justice. On entering, the king begged the attention of the synod to two bales of stuffs, and a sack of coin, which figured prominently on the pavement of the church, observing that they would prove of great importance in the course of the inquiry.

The accused was now brought forward. The king rose, and instead of addressing himself to the judges, turned towards his adversary, and thus bluntly apostrophized him:—"And what wert thou thinking of, O bishop, when thou didst marry my enemy, Merovig, (for such he is, rather than my son,) to his aunt, Brunchilde? Knewest thou not what the canons enact touching this thing? And not only herein hast thou offended, but, moreover, in that thou hast plotted my death, in concert with him. Thou hast stirred up the son to become his father's enemy; thou hast seduced my people by bribes; and thou hast sought to deliver my kingdom into the hands of another." At these words, the Frank warriors who crowded the doors of the basilica, raised a fierce shout of indignation, demanding the death of the traitor to their king; and as their fury kindled, they pushed into the nave of the building, and showed an inclination of executing at once the sentence they had pronounced against the accused. The bishops, in alarm, quitted their seats, and it required all the personal influence of the king to check the turbulence of his irritated followers, which he was not sorry, perhaps, to have exhibited *in terrorem* to the assembly.

When order was in some measure restored, the criminal was allowed to answer in his own behalf. Not at all disconcerted by the scene that had just occurred, the wily Roman undertook to justify himself. He could not deny the fact of the uncanonical marriage, but he turned all his defence to vindicate himself from the charge of treason. Then Chilperic summoned his witnesses. Several persons of Frank origin came forward, and producing different objects of value, declared that they had been given to them by the bishop, on condition of their promising fidelity to Merovig. Prætextatus, not at all disconcerted, replied, "True, you have received presents from me more than once, but they were not given you with any view of expelling the king from his kingdom. But when you had bestowed valuable horses, or other things of like richness upon me, how could I do otherwise than make you some kind of return for them?" No more substantial evidence being producible against the bishop,

the synod broke up, and the king retired to his residence, not a little chagrined at having failed, with so many advantages in his favour, in procuring a conviction.

The bishops were withdrawn to the sacristy of the church, and were conversing in separate groups familiarly enough, but with an awkward reserve on the main subject. They distrusted one another. They knew what they ought to think of the business in hand. It was evident that the king sought the ruin of *Prætextatus*, and wished to make them his instruments in effecting his purpose. They would have refused their cooperation if they dared; but they knew how dangerous it would be to do so.

While they were in this mood, they were surprised by the abrupt entrance of *Aetius*, the Archdeacon of Paris. Entering with equal suddenness on the thorny subject which they were delicately shunning in their conversation among themselves—"Hearken, O priests of the Lord!" he cried; "the present occasion is one of infinite moment for you. According as you shall now act, you will either cover yourselves with the renown of a good name, or you will forfeit, in the face of all men, the character of faithful ministers of God, if you betray a brother to destruction." But the spirit of timid reserve still kept the bishops silent, and this generous appeal met no response.

The indignation of one among them was, however, roused by their pusillanimous silence. *Gregory of Tours*, finding that no one of more age or weight than himself spoke, came forward and said, "Holy priests of God, and you particularly, who are thought to enjoy a larger share of the king's intimacy, hearken to me. Do you now give the king godly counsel, and such as is fitting a priest should give; lest, now, this minister of God perish, by reason of the king's displeasure, for which God shall assuredly punish the king, and his realm. Remember, I pray you, what saith the prophet, 'If the watchman see a man's iniquity, and tell him it not, behold he is guilty of the death of him that dieth.'" (*Ezek. xxxiii. 6.*) And he reminded them of the cases of *Chlodimir*, and the Emperor *Maximus*, whose fate was considered a providential judgment on acts of violence they had committed against two Christian bishops. The bishops made no answer, and one by one they crept away, one part to withdraw themselves from the storm which they saw now inevitable; another party, chiefly consisting of those of Frankish race, to make their court to the king, by betraying the events of their private conclave.

Chilperic was speedily informed that the man he had to fear was the bishop of *Tours*. A messenger was immediately despatched to summon "his enemy" into his presence. *Gregory*

obeyed, and followed his conductor with a calm and composed mind. He found the king in the open air, sitting under a hut formed of the branches of trees, in the midst of the encampment of his warriors. Berthramn, the licentious bishop of Bordeaux, and Raghenemod, the bishop of Paris, who had been playing the honourable part of informer against their colleague, were at his side. Before them was a long table, on which was bread, and other meats, to be presented, according to the Frank custom, to each new visitor.

"Thou, O bishop," said the king, in an angry tone, "shouldest deal justice to all men; but, behold, I receive it not at thy hands. Thou art ready to become a partner in this man's evil deeds. And so I find fulfilled in thee that proverb, 'The crow pecketh not out the crow's eye.'"

"If any one of us, O king," answered Gregory, "transgresses the path of righteousness, he may be set right by thee; but if it is thou that transgressest, who shall set thee right? We may, indeed, tell thee thy fault, and if thou wilt thou hearest; but if thou wilt not hear, who is there that shall pass sentence on thee, save He who has declared that He is Justice itself?"

"Nay, verily," said Chilperic, "of all the rest I obtain justice, but of thee only can I not. This will I do, therefore, that thy injustice may be made apparent before all the people. I will call together all the men of Tours, and I will say to them, Raise your voice now against Gregory the bishop, and cry aloud that he is unjust, and rendereth justice to no man. And when they shall cry, then will I too cry to them; I who am a king cannot have justice at his hands, how then should you, who are beneath me?"

This flimsy hypocrisy, by which he who was all-powerful sought to pass himself off as the victim of others' injustice, inspired Gregory with a contempt which he could not dissemble, and he replied—"If I am unjust, it is in nothing of which thou knowest. He to Whom the secrets of all hearts are open, alone knows my conscience. As for the clamours of the people which thou mayest excite, they are nought, for all men will know that they cry at thy bidding. But what need of more words? thou hast the law and the canons; examine them diligently, and know if thou transgressest them that the judgment of God awaits thee."

The king, with the craft with which a barbarian knows how to conceal his passion when he pleases, assumed an air of familiarity, and pointing to a mess of pottage which stood among the viands on the board, said with an air of gentleness, "See a mess prepared specially for thee; nought hath gone into it save peas and some fowl." This was intended to flatter the bishop's

vanity, as though it was matter of notoriety that he abstained from more solid food. But Gregory was not the dupe of this stratagem, and bowing, in token of refusal, he answered, "My meat ought to be to do the will of God, and not to take delight in delicate meats. Thou who chargest others with injustice, begin by promising that thou too wilt abide by the law and the canons, and we may then credit that it is justice that thou seekest." Unwilling to break openly with the Bishop of Tours, whose great popularity at Tours, and indeed all over France, made him a person of much consideration, Chilperic lifted his hands, and calling the Almighty to witness, swore that he would not in anything trespass against the law and the canons. Then Gregory advanced to the table, and took a morsel of bread, and drank some wine, a ceremony of hospitality which could not be omitted without giving great offence. After this he retired to his lodging in the Church of St. Julian.

In the course of that night, after they had chanted nocturns, the bishop was roused by a loud and continued knocking at the door of the house. Sending down a servant to ascertain the cause, he was told that messengers from Queen Fredegonde desired to see him. Being admitted to his presence they saluted him in that queen's name, and told him that they were sent to pray him not to show himself obstinately bent on thwarting her wish in the matter now before the council. If he would declare against *Prætextatus*, and nothing more was needed to ensure his fall, they were authorized to promise him two hundred pounds of silver. With his habitual calmness and self-command, Gregory replied that he had but one voice amongst many, and that even if he were to give way, it would be far from deciding the matter. The messengers rejoined that it was all that was needed, for that they had already gained the votes of all the rest. Without changing his tone the bishop replied, "If the queen would give me a thousand pounds in gold and silver, it would be impossible for me to do anything but what the Lord commands me. All that I can promise is, to join the other bishops in all that they shall decide in conformity with the canon law." The messengers misunderstood these words, either from their ignorance of what was meant by the canon law, or from supposing that by "the Lord" (*Dominus*) the bishop intended the king, who was often so styled in ordinary language. They accordingly withdrew to carry to the queen this favourable report of the bishop's intentions.

The members of the synod were betimes next morning in the church, and the king, recovered from his disappointment, was equally punctual. In order to reconcile his oath of the previous evening with the accomplishment of the vengeance meditated

against Prætextatus, he brought to bear all his literary and theological knowledge. He had been diving into the collection of the canons, and had pitched upon one which enacted the heaviest punishment that could be inflicted on a clerk, that of deposition. All that was now needed was to bring a charge against the Bishop of Rouen, of such a nature as should fall within this penalty. This caused Chilperic no great embarrassment. When the judges and the accused had taken their places, the king, with the gravity of a doctor expounding ecclesiastical law, began: "A bishop, convicted of theft, shall be degraded from his episcopal functions. That is the Church canon." The synod was amazed at this opening, and all the members demanded with one voice who it was who was charged with the crime of theft. "It is he," said the king, turning to Prætextatus, "he himself; and have you not seen the matters of which he has robbed me?"

The members of the council now remembered the bales and the bag of money which the king had pointed out to them at the opening of the sitting. Unexpected and barefaced as was this new attack, Prætextatus replied with patience, "You must, I think, recollect that when Queen Brunchilde took her departure from Rouen, I went to you and informed you that she had deposited in my custody five bales of considerable size and weight; and that since then her servants had frequently demanded that they should be given up to them, but that I had always refused, not wishing to do anything without your sanction. Your answer to me at the time was, 'Have nothing to do with these goods, but let them return to her to whom they belong, that they become not a cause of quarrel between me and my nephew.' Immediately on my return to Rouen, I put one of the packages into the hands of the servants, which was as much as they could convey away at one time. When they returned for another, I again consulted your magnificence, and you gave the same answer as before: 'Get rid of these goods, O bishop, lest they become an occasion of quarrel!' Thus they carried away two more of the bales, leaving two still with me. How, then, do you now charge me with theft and robbery, as to goods which I stole not, but which were put into my keeping?"

"If, then, it was a deposit intrusted to your keeping," retorted the king, giving without scruple another turn to his accusation, "how came you to open one of the bales, and to abstract from it a piece of gold tissue, which you cut into small pieces, and distributed them among the men whom you had engaged in the plot against me?"

"These men of whom you speak had, as I have before said, made me presents; and having by me at the moment nothing else to offer them in return, I took that, and do not reproach

myself now for having done so; for I regard as my own all that belongs to my son Merovig, whom I took out of the fount of baptism."

The king knew not what to say in answer to such a genuine expression of paternal regard on the part of the aged bishop towards the young prince. Chilperic's resources were exhausted; and the assurance he had at first displayed, was now succeeded by an air of embarrassment and confusion; he broke up the sitting abruptly, and withdrew disconcerted and discontent. Above all, he dreaded the encounter with Fredegonde. Probably instigated by her reproaches, he soon after summoned to his presence those members of the council who were most at his command, and among others, Berthram and Raghenemod. "I confess," said he, "I am beaten by the answers the bishop has made, and well I wot he has spoken the truth. Whither, then, shall I now turn, that the queen's vengeance may be satisfied? Go ye, all of you, to him, and say to him, as if from yourselves, Thou knowest, brother, that the king, Chilperic, is a good and merciful prince, and is readily inclined to show mercy; humble thyself, therefore, now before him, and confess that thou hast committed that with which thou art now charged; then will we throw ourselves at his feet, and beg for thy pardon."

Whether the bishops persuaded their credulous and feeble colleague that the king, tired of the prosecution, was only anxious to extricate himself from it, without the disgrace of a defeat,—or whether they wrought on his fears by representing to him that his innocence, however manifest, could not save him from the royal vengeance, if he obstinately persisted in braving it,—Prætextatus, well acquainted himself with the timidity and servility of his judges, did not reject the proposal thus made to him. It was at best, he might think, a last resource, when all others should fail. His pretended friends, receiving the thanks of the man whom they were betraying, returned to the king to announce the success of their mission. The accused, they said, having come into the snare that had been laid for him, would make a full confession on the first appeal made to him. Thus Chilperic was delivered from the necessity of inventing any new expedient to assure the success of the procedure.

The next morning, at the opening of the sitting, the king, as if merely resuming the broken thread of the previous day's argument, said, pointing to the witnesses who were by, "If all you intended was to make a present to these men, how came you to demand an oath of them to the purpose that they would be faithful to Merovig?" Though his conscience must have been unstrung by the secret engagement he had made with the

bishops, Prætextatus, by an instinct of shame which, for the time, overcame his fears, revolted from the falsehood which he had bargained to tell against himself. "I begged them only," was his answer, "that they would be on terms of private friendship with him; and for his good I would not have appealed to men only, but would have called down, if I could, the angels from heaven, being, as he is, my spiritual son by baptism."

At these words, which seemed to indicate a purpose on the part of Prætextatus of persevering in his defence, the king's anger broke forth into a violence which so terrified the helpless old man, that all at once, falling on his knees before the king, he cried out, "I have indeed, O most merciful king, sinned against Heaven and thee; I am a wicked murderer! I have conceived the thought of killing thee, and of placing thy son on thy throne." As soon as the king saw his adversary at his feet, his anger passed away, and hypocrisy recovered its command. Feigning to be overpowered by his emotions, he now, in his turn, threw himself on his knees before the bishops, "Do ye hear, ye men of religion, the criminal himself avow his execrable attempt?" The bishops sprung from their seats, and hastened to raise the king to his feet; those who were not in the secret melted to tears, the others laughing inwardly at the scene that was being acted before them. As soon as Chilperic had recovered himself, as if unable any longer to bear the sight of one who had pleaded guilty to so great a crime, he ordered Prætextatus to be removed from the church. He himself followed shortly after, as if to leave the council to deliberate upon the sentence it had now to give.

Immediately on his return to his palace, the king despatched to the synod the volume of the canons which had formed the object of his study the preceding night. This was probably the collection made by Dionysius Exiguus, in 525, for it contained the Apostolical Canons, which were not as yet admitted as part of ecclesiastical law in the Gallic Church. The twenty-first of these canons was the same which Chilperic had pronounced with so much emphasis at the first meeting. This article had attracted his notice for no other reason, than because it enacted the penalty of deposition. But as the crimes against which it enacted this penalty, viz. those of theft, adultery, and perjury, as the king had himself previously quoted it, did not happen to suit the present case, Chilperic had simply erased the word "theft" from the parchment, and substituted that of "murder." This truly barbarian trick escaped detection at the time on the part of the bishops, unacquainted, as most of them were, with a collection which had not long been in existence, and was of no authority among them. The Bishop of Tours was even the only one who exclaimed against the appeal to a novel code, and who

made a fruitless effort to engage his colleagues to decline the authority of the pretended Apostolical Canons.

This they would not do. Condemned Prætextatus must be, and what did it signify by what semblance of law or justice, when all for whose opinion they cared, the king, Fredegonde, and the Frank warriors, would look at the sentence, not at the grounds on which it professed to rest. This artifice would do, since they could bethink themselves of no better. The mock deliberation terminated, the parties were called in again to hear the sentence pronounced. The fatal article having been read, the Bishop of Bordeaux, acting as president of the council, addressed the accused: "Hearken, my brother, thou mayst now no longer continue in communion with us, and in the enjoyment of our love, unless it shall please the king to admit thee again into his royal favour, which thou hast now lost."

At this judgment, pronounced by the lips of a man who, the evening before, had practised so basely on his unsuspecting simplicity, the condemned stood struck mute with surprise. The king, not content with his victory, sought for some further aggravation of his ignominious sentence. He demanded that his robe should be torn off his back in the church; and when this insult was demurred to on the part of the bishops, he required that they should read over his head the 108th Psalm, which contains the maledictions applied by St. Peter, in the Acts, to Judas Iscariot.

This was the extreme and terrible punishment, usual only in cases of sacrilege. Once again the voice of the dauntless Gregory was lifted in behalf of the deserted and friendless Prætextatus, and he reminded the king of his oath not to act in anything against the canons. Finding his proposal not entertained readily by the rest of the bishops, Chilperic was fain to content himself with now requiring that the judgment which had been given should be entered on record, and a clause inserted that the deposition should be perpetual. Gregory's former success encouraged him to withstand the king's wishes again on this point. The sentence, accordingly, of simple deposition, stood as at first pronounced.

Prætextatus was then handed over to some of the king's guards, and conducted to a prison outside the walls of the city, the ruins of which long after remained on the left bank of the Seine. He made an attempt to escape during the night, in which he failed, and was cruelly beaten by the soldiers who had the custody of him. In a day or two, he was sent into exile, or *transported*, the usual Frank punishment for offenders of any rank or consideration. The place of his exile was an island adjacent to the city of Coutances—probably, Jersey; then inhabited only, if at all, by pirates of Anglo-Saxon race, and serving as a kind of Siberia for the kingdom of Neustria.

ART. V.—1. *Agende für die Evangelische Kirche, in den Königlich Preussischen Landen.*

2. *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen gerbauch, für Evangelische Gemeinen.*

3. *State of Protestantism in Germany.* By the Rev. H. J. ROSE, B. D.

4. *German Protestantism.* By the Rev. G. H. DEWAR, M. A.

THE recent mission of Bishops on the part of the Anglican hierarchy, to the work of evangelists to the heathen, ought certainly to have no small portion of fear mingled with the joy that such acts are calculated to give to every Christian mind. If we remember our Lord's words, that 'a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit,' who is there amongst us who ought not to cherish a godly fear lest the event be such as to establish in the face of day that the Anglican succession, as such, is a tree incapable of bringing forth good fruit? At all events the die is now cast,—the Anglican hierarchy has been unfolded, and although hitherto no steps have been taken, except in the wake of the temporal power, the Church has notwithstanding put herself upon trial, as a missionary Church, in the eyes of Christendom, and it remains to be declared by the issue, whether or no, the Church of England is 'a tree capable of bringing forth good fruit.' How much then ought we not to fear, lest by any fatal error on our part, by any wrong misuse, or guilty misapplication of the divine gifts entrusted to our stewardship, we should provoke God to suffer our efforts to come to nought, in the following out of devices and imaginings which are not to His glory, and are counter to the provisions of His ecclesiastical government! We presume that there is still sufficient faith in our Church to appreciate the expression, 'God's ecclesiastical government,' and sufficient humility, sufficient sense of the imbecility of human projectors, acting contrary to the provisions of ecclesiastical catholic government, to draw many anxious thoughts, many deep seated and well grounded fears, to the question—Is the mission of a member of the Anglican hierarchy to Jerusalem agreeable to the counsels of God, as displayed in the past history of the Church? Or, in other words, upon the supposition that the God incarnate, who died on the cross, has been an ecclesiastical Ruler over His Church ever since, and that, though unseen, He has nevertheless governed the chosen kingdom of His grace, and the people within it, by a dispensation of rewards and punishments, not without its analogies to the mode of His moral government, as exerted over mankind generally,—the question

will be, Is the mission of Bishop Alexander to Jerusalem one which there is good reason to hope will draw down the blessing of God; or is there reason to fear that it has its foundation in the violation of such sacred maxims of His ecclesiastical regimen, and that it has a course marked out for it, involving the further violation of so many more, that all hope is at an end that it can obtain a blessing, consistently with the revealed character of God, as the 'Author of peace in the Churches, not of confusion?'

Those who are disposed to maintain, if any such there be, that God incarnate is not that character of Ruler which is universally understood by the term '*ecclesiastical*;' that the kingdom of heaven, of which the prophecies speak, has no such living governor, and that the whole fabric of ecclesiastical law is a mere work of man, mere clay in the hands of the potter, *pro tempore*, will have a difficulty to imagine how a question so frivolous and idle as this must appear to them, comes to be asked. What is ecclesiastical law, what are canonical scruples, they will say, compared with the winning perishing souls to the fold of the Redeemer's kingdom? What does it matter if the peace of some few Christians' minds is a little disturbed, and the duties of other clergy a little interfered with, so long as there is a hope of preaching the truth of the glorious Gospel where it has been obscured, and establishing the blessed light of protestant doctrine near the scene of the Redeemer's sufferings?

To this, it will be enough to say, that every short and summary mode of viewing an ecclesiastical question of grave import has certainly one great merit—that of wonderful freedom from all conscientious scruple; it shows a truly admirable disencumberment from all religious dread of taking a false step. Given a certain amount of Protestant truth, and there you have the sovereign panacea for the whole spiritual evils of the creation of man; take it, start away, preach, preach, be instant in season, out of season; no matter what disorder is occasioned, no matter who it is who sets himself to work, layman or priest, (a bishop is a tolerably fit person enough, but anybody will do,) preach, only preach the blessed Protestant truth, pure Bible Christianity, and there cannot be a doubt of the earth's being instantly regenerated.

On such a principle as this, who would not wonder that a scruple could be raised against the mission of a bishop to Jerusalem? The faintest whisper of a solitary half-uttered doubt vibrates on the ear, with the sound of a full loud roar of treason against the idolized sovereign specific,—'Protestant truth.' Yet passing strange, incredible, unintelligible as it may, rather must, appear, to many an honest, well-meaning mind, that it should be possible to be sceptical about the medicinal virtues

of this something, which we hear popularly named Protestantism, it cannot be concealed that fears, deep and powerful, have fastened themselves upon many minds, lest the step thus taken be found to offend in so many essential points against sacred principles of the government of the Church of God, that there remains no door for a hope, that God, provided that He be the Author of the scheme of ecclesiastical government which has hitherto, with more or less of tampering on the part of individual human rulers, guided the destinies of his Church, can vouchsafe His blessing to it, for God cannot bless the sinner in his sin, true though it be that in the end He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him: it being plainly impossible to hope for a blessing upon Bishop Alexander's mission, if the very position itself, and the course marked out for him, imply a violation of any fundamental maxim of the divine ecclesiastical government, — provided, that is, that God be an ecclesiastical as well as a moral Governor.

How deeply many amongst us feel the position of Bishop Alexander to be a wrong one, may be gathered from the words of one respected member of our Church,* who scruples not to say of it, *that it has had a most grievous effect in weakening the argument for our Church's Catholicity, and in shaking the belief of it in individuals. May that measure utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!*" This mode of speaking of the measure is in accordance with the piety and deep thought of the one who has thus spoken: it does not express any unbecoming censure upon those in authority; it does not bring any accusation, much less a railing one, against God's high priests who have been concerned actively in the Bishop's mission; it simply and solemnly lays the matter before God and the conscience of the Church, with the prayer that God would utterly bring to nought a measure, which the utterer of the prayer believes to be in contradiction to the sacred principle of the Divine rule and government which has hitherto governed the Church; it plainly and earnestly records the speaker's conviction, that in sending Bishop Alexander to Jerusalem to be bishop over a 'Church planted by the two great Protestant powers of Europe,' (*vide* Statement published by authority,) we have rendered ourselves liable to the judgment, that every plant which God himself has not planted shall be rooted up.

It need scarcely be added, that our own deep sympathies are with such a mode of protest. In a day when the enemy without is eagerly seeking every occasion to blaspheme and to vilify the sanctity of that living hierarchical order, by which our branch

* Mr. Newman. Sermons on Subjects of the Day, page 378.

of the Church is ruled and governed, they of the household seem only the more strongly called upon to abound in expressions of loyalty and affectionate submission toward their rulers, charged as they are with the fearful burden of bearing rule over us in God's name. It is idle, nay, it is worse, it is ruinous, it is sinful in us, to speak lightly in censure and dispraise of the acts of those who sit in the seat of government over us; God's will be done! and they are required to act in God's name; if then there be cause to fear that they have not acted in this matter with that forethought and knowledge which becometh the high priests of God, to us now be the shame, as to us assuredly will be the punishment and detriment which the Church shall thereby receive. Let it be our care not to make the case more grievous than it is, by suffering the measure in question to foster undutiful and disaffected feelings towards our rulers. The event is now in the hand of God, and there we must be content to leave it.

In what follows, then, we should be happy if our readers would understand that it is our earnest desire to abstain from the expression of mere opinions, not to say crude opinions, upon so serious a question. It is too serious to those who regard it thoughtfully, to admit of its affording matter for mere speculation. And as a question of Catholic discipline and principle, sufficient has been already written in the pamphlets of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Hope, Mr. Wm. Palmer, and others. We have scarcely any other object in view than the fulfilment of an old promise, to make our readers acquainted with the general character and details of the Prussian Liturgy, now brought into a sort of alliance with our own; and which we have been assured by a sort of authority, if that can be called *authority* which is *anonymous*, that it agrees in all points of doctrine with the Liturgy of the English Church; to which the addition of a few extracts from some of the ephemeral writings which have appeared in various parts of Germany, upon the mission of Dr. Alexander, may prove, we would hope, not unacceptable.

The ritual and liturgical provision for the kingdom of Prussia, as compiled and formed by the desire and under the direction of his late Majesty Frederick William III., consists of two parts,—the *Agende*, or office in prose, for congregational worship on Sundays and other festivals; and an authorized Hymn-book, from which each congregation is at liberty to make choice of such hymns as are most agreeable to their own taste, or to the occasion.

The design and scope of its compilation will be best explained in his late Majesty's own words, which stand as the preface to the form published in 1829.

‘ We, Frederick William, by the grace of God King of Prussia, &c., make known and declare by these presents:—
‘ Our ancestors, together with such other princes who at the time of the great Reformation of the Church, accepted a restoration of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, soon perceived the strong need of introducing into their dominions such Church ordinances and rituals as might bring about a wholesome and intelligible unity into the usages of the public service of God, and put a stop to the progress of any caprices contrary to the mind of the reformers, yet without seeking to fetter the dearly earned liberty of faith and conscience. It was by means of such rituals, as were drawn up by persons of reputation, who for the most part acted under special counsel and advice, or at least such as were conceived in the spirit of the Reformers, and were put in circulation in virtue of their having received proper sanction and authority, inasmuch they all were grounded upon the same principles, that an almost complete uniformity was brought about in the liturgic usages of the Evangelical Church then forming herself in Germany. For centuries these excellent Church ordinances maintained themselves in their original form, and in continued and blessed use. But in proportion as unsound views upon Church questions, eagerness for change, lukewarmness, and indifference, began to gain the upper hand, they fell into disuse to such an extent that in some places scarce even a traditional remembrance of them remained. All therefore who entertained a deep concern for the internal peace and coherence of the Evangelical Church, have long felt the urgent need of putting an end to the caprice and disorder which has become thus widely spread. One only measure promised to succeed; viz. the attempt to recover those truly Christian ordinances of the Evangelical Church, from the disuse into which they had fallen, and to bring them to life again, not neglecting at the same time to take into consideration the demands and requirements of the present age. These reasons occasioned the drawing up of the Ritual which appeared in the year 1821, for the use of the cathedral church of Berlin. The approbation which this Ritual obtained on all hands, drawn up as it was in conformity with the principles above mentioned, by several divines well acquainted with our royal purpose, and of good repute themselves, occasioned the frequent expression of a wish that its general use might be no longer delayed. To prepare the way for this, we were minded to send to the Clergy of every province a preliminary form of inquiry; in reply to which they were required to declare themselves either in favour of, or against its general adoption. Notwithstanding the obstinate and unjust attacks of the opposers of the Agende, the

‘ result may be said to have been in the highest degree favourable,
‘ inasmuch, as by far the larger part of the Evangelical Churches,
‘ in a very short time, declared themselves in its favour. Still
‘ many things now suggested themselves as desirable, and as re-
‘ quiring consideration, which were often of a very contradictory
‘ nature, and which indeed could scarcely be otherwise under the
‘ circumstances, arising, as they did, partly from local associa-
‘ tions, partly from the strong attachment which men have to that
‘ to which they have been long used; to all which, other very dif-
‘ ferent reasons were joined on, in order to justify the rejection
‘ of the Ritual. In this predicament, therefore, that we might
‘ act with all possible deference, compatible with our principles
‘ and the object desired, and with a view to afford to such matters
‘ of provincial origin, as the persons we had consulted referred
‘ to in the expression of their sentiments, such consideration as
‘ they might be entitled to from their character and origin; we
‘ adopted the plan of causing all these various questions and
‘ points for consideration to be collected by the different consis-
‘ tories of the provinces, in order that they might then be sub-
‘ mitted to a careful examination, by a commission acting upon
‘ fixed principles, and composed of the chief members (Räthen)
‘ of the provincial consistory, in conjunction with others of the
‘ most deserving Clergy of the province, and that we ourselves
‘ might be informed of the result through the minister of spiritual
‘ affairs. After this had been completed, which was done some
‘ time ago, in the province of Brandenburg, we directed that
‘ what had been consented to and proposed by the collective
‘ Clergy of the province, should be drawn up in the form of a
‘ special appendix to the Kirchen Agende, a task which has been
‘ now completed by the Clergy of the province. Simultaneously
‘ with this appendix, we have caused this new and enlarged
‘ edition of the Kirchen Agende to be prepared, in order that
‘ the whole may now appear in a better and more coherent form.
‘ Whatever was found to have no other foundation beside some
‘ local peculiarity, or predilection, or peculiarity of views, and such
‘ as could not be applied to any permanent purpose of general
‘ utility, has been considered inadmissible, to the intent that the
‘ fundamental principle of fitness for general use might not be
‘ transgressed. The Consistory of the province, however, is
‘ provided with full power to show the utmost possible deference
‘ to all such points. After all that has now been done in this
‘ weighty matter, we look forward with confidence that the
‘ whole Clergy of the province, in gratitude for our princely and
‘ fatherly intentions, and our unwearied care for the inward and
‘ outward welfare of the Evangelical Church, will apply them-
‘ selves willingly and obediently, as becometh good subjects, to

‘promote this our design, and labour with all honesty and diligence so to influence their congregations, and to remove all erroneous notions and misunderstandings, that this revised Ritual (Kirchen Agende,) allowed by us, and published by our authority, may with all possible speed be introduced, and maintained unchanged in continual use.

‘May Almighty God take this work under his merciful protection; may He bless it and preserve it to us and our successors to the end of time, for the furtherance of the true fear of God, together with all other Christian graces.

‘Berlin, 19th of April, 1829.

‘FREDERICK WILLIAM.’

PREFACE.

‘The need of a firmly established Order for the public celebration of Divine worship and the ministration of Church ordinances, has been long held to be a fundamental principle in the Christian Church. Besides, the continual endeavour either to introduce such an order, to uphold it, or to recover it, serves to indicate how strongly the feeling has been manifested, that the need belongs to the very nature of the case. It is plain also how much the very agreement in the forms of public worship contributes to maintain and to strengthen Christian communion, and how much every Christian who seeks edification must desire to be able to procure a reception everywhere, for that which is preserved pure and sound, and, at the same time, where it has been lost, again to find a home for it.

‘The Ritual for the Evangelic Church in the kingdom of Prussia, originated proximately from the design to recover this agreement, the gradual loss of which had latterly been noticed with considerable sorrow; and to secure to the ordinances of the Church the possession of a form grounded upon the evangelical system of doctrine capable of protecting them from the changeableness of human views and modes of celebration; at the same time without shutting out a certain degree of variety, and entirely precluding all liberty of action.

* * * * *

‘Forasmuch as modern attempts in the way of liturgical works have given sufficient warning, by their failure, that the mode of expression commonly used in the transactions of the present day, is less suited to the solemn tone and expression proper to congregational devotion and public confession, which requisites the remains of antiquity so largely possess; and

‘ because that, besides this, a fixed order for the celebration of
 ‘ worship, and the ordinances of the Church, ought to bear
 ‘ testimony to the oneness of the living Church with that
 ‘ which is departed; there seemed to be an urgent need to go
 ‘ back to the age of the Reformation, and, by selecting from the
 ‘ rituals composed by the Reformers themselves, or at least such
 ‘ as were conceived in their spirit, and sanctioned by the civil
 ‘ authorities, distinguished as these are by their powerful and
 ‘ dignified language.

* * * * *

‘ May God in His mercy so watch over this work, as it is
 ‘ filled in all its several parts with the true doctrines of
 ‘ Christendom (“ Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and
 ‘ for ever,” “ who of God is made unto us wisdom, and right-
 ‘ eousness, and sanctification, and redemption ;” Heb. xiii. 8 ;
 ‘ 1 Cor. i. 30); may He permit it to serve to the honour of
 ‘ His glorious name, and to the furtherance of His kingdom upon
 ‘ earth, and to the lasting blessing of those who in Christ Jesus
 ‘ are called unto everlasting life.

‘ Berlin, 26th May, 1829.

‘ The Spiritual Counsellors of his Majesty’s Minister of
 ‘ Spiritual Affairs, and of his Majesty’s Consistory of
 ‘ the province of Brandenburg.

‘ (Signed) { DR. EYLERT. DR. EHRENBURG. DR. NEANDER.
 ROSS. DR. THEREMIN. GILLET.
 DR. NICOLAI. DR. BRESCIUS. PALMIÉ.*

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* Perhaps some remnant of the Rogation fast.

The task of presenting the Ritual and Liturgy of any body of Christians in an abbreviated form, is an enterprise beset with so many perplexities, as to require no little hardihood even to attempt it. Every word in a form of prayer in actual use becomes a sacred treasure in the keeping of those who use it. It is, viewed as a whole, the manner in which a given people present themselves to Almighty God for His blessing; and, according to its character for orthodoxy and fitness, such may be expected to be the degree of acceptance it will find at the throne of God. The Saviour of mankind has revealed the truth, that Almighty God approves of one kind of prayer more than another; He therefore gave His own followers a prayer to be the model of all prayer to the end of time, and He has also cautioned His people, in those prayers which they should themselves compose, to beware of the manner in which the nations of the world prayed.

Every Prayer-Book is the social or congregational life of the body who use it; is their united voice, and the expression of their heart, mind, and spirit, as a political whole; and in proportion, therefore, as their mode of thus addressing themselves to Almighty God approves itself to the mind of the all-holy, just, and powerful Being to whom it is spoken, such, we have all good reason, both from revelation, and from the history of the past, to conclude will be His acceptance of it. Every single word, then, in such a document, becomes of value; and it would be obviously very unfair to represent the few extracts we are about to give, as capable of conveying more than merely a proximate idea of the nature and character of the new Service-Book, as a whole. As we are then compelled by our limited space to make a selection, let this be the ordinary Sunday morning service, as now in use in the different parish churches of Prussia.

‘ Order for Morning Prayer on Sundays and Festivals, with the

‘ Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper.

‘ Song of the Congregation. (Introit.) (From the *Gesangbuch*.)

‘ The minister approaches during the singing of the hymn, in a proper dress (*priesterlichen ornat*), before the altar, and offers a silent prayer. This ended, he turns himself to the congregation, who stand up, and, with due reverence, remain standing until the prayers, together with the suffrages, are ended, and says—

‘ In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.
‘ Amen.

‘ Our help be in the name of the Lord, who hath made heaven
‘ and earth.

[*Here follows either of the Forms for the Confession of Sin.*]

First Form.—‘ Beloved in Christ, let us with all lowliness of
‘ mind confess our unworthiness and our sins before the Lord,
‘ and say one with another,—

‘ I, wretched sinner that I am, confess before Thee, Almighty
‘ God, that I have often, and greatly sinned, in thought, word,
‘ and deed. I acknowledge mine offences, all mine offences;
‘ but I truly repent of them from my heart, and am steadfastly
‘ purposed, with the assistance of Thy grace, to amend my
‘ life, and to sin no more.

‘ Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all
‘ your sins. Confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and
‘ bring you to his everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ
‘ our Lord. Amen.

‘ Glory be to the Father, &c.

‘ Lord, have mercy.

‘ Christ, have mercy.

‘ Lord, have mercy.

‘ *Minister.* Glory be to God on high.

‘ *Choir.* And peace on earth, and goodwill towards men.

‘ We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify
‘ Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory. Lord
‘ God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty, Lord, the
‘ only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Lord God, Lamb of God,
‘ Son of the Father, Thou that takest away the sins of the
‘ world, have mercy upon us! Thou that takest away the sins
‘ of the world, hear our prayer! Thou that sittest at the right
‘ hand of the Father, have mercy upon us, for Thou only art holy!
‘ Thou only art the Lord; Thou only art the Most High; Jesus
‘ Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father!
‘ Amen. Amen. Amen.

‘ *Minister.* The Lord be with you!

‘ *People.* And with thy spirit.

[*Here follows one of the Collects : to be chosen by the Minister.*]

Collect 19th.—‘ The Lord our God be merciful unto us,
‘ and prosper the work of our hands; yea, let Him bless our
‘ handiwork.

‘ *Minister.* O God, upon whose blessing all things depend,
‘ who art ready to bless all them that put their trust in Thee,
‘ we beseech Thee that Thou wouldest be with us, and with all
‘ that we begin, continue, and end in Thy name. Mercifully
‘ grant us Thy help, and make us fruitful in all good works, to

‘do Thy will, and create in us that which is pleasing to Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

‘*Minister.* The Epistle is written,’ &c. (The Epistle is here read.)*

[*Here follows one of the Sentences appointed to be said.*]

‘*Minister.* Not they that hear the word shall be accounted just before God, but they that do it shall be accounted righteous; yet, not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name only be the praise. Alleluia.

‘*Minister.* The holy Gospel is written,’ &c. (The Gospel is read.)

‘*Minister.* Praised be Thou, O Christ. Amen.

‘*People.* Amen.

‘*Minister.* I believe in God, the Father,’ &c. (The Apostles’ Creed.)†

‘*Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.‡

[*Here follows one of the Sentences appointed to be said after the Creed.*]

‘12th. Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good, and His mercy endureth for ever. Praise ye the Lord.

‘*Minister.* Lift up your hearts, and let us thank the Lord our God.

‘It is right, very meet, and good, to give thanks unto Thee, Almighty God, at all times, and in all places, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, for whose sake Thou hast spared us, forgivest us our sins, and promisest us everlasting life; therefore, with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we sing praise unto Thee, for Thy great glory.

‘*Choir.* Holy! holy! holy! Lord God of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosannah in the highest! Praised be He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosannah in the highest!

‘*Minister.* Lord God, heavenly Father, we beseech Thee that Thou wouldest govern Thy Christian Church, with all its teachers and servants, by Thy Holy Spirit, that they being kept steadfast in the true doctrine of Thy holy word, true faith may be awakened and confirmed in us, and love towards all men be increased.

* The selection of the portion of Scripture to be read for the Epistle and Gospel for the Day appears to be left to the choice of the officiating minister. We have not been able to hear of the existence of any prescript order for the year, as is the case generally with all Catholic Liturgies.—[Ed.]

† The Holy Catholic Church is here rendered by the words, a holy general Christian Church (eine allgemeine Christliche Kirche).

‡ Instead of the Apostles’ Creed, the hymn, ‘We all believe in one God,’ (Wir glauben all’ an einen Gott,) may be sung by the congregation.

‘ O Lord, let Thy mercy lighten upon the King, our Lord,
 ‘ the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the Royal Family, and
 ‘ all that belong to them; give unto them, O Lord, length of
 ‘ life, that they may be for a blessing to us, and for a pattern of
 ‘ godliness. Grant unto our King a long and prosperous reign;
 ‘ defend the royal army, and all true servants of the King and
 ‘ his country; teach them to think, as becometh Christians, of
 ‘ the oath they have taken, and make their service to be blessed
 ‘ to Thy honour, and the good of their country. Bless us and all
 ‘ other dominions of the King; help every one in his need; and
 ‘ be the Saviour of all men, more especially of Thy faithful
 ‘ people. Deliver us from an evil, impenitent death; and,
 ‘ finally, bring us all to Thine everlasting kingdom in heaven,
 ‘ through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

‘ *Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

‘ *Minister.* Our Father, which art,’ &c.

[*A hymn is here generally sung by the congregation, selected from the authorized hymn-book, during which the officiating Minister retires, and ascends the pulpit; the hymn ended, the Sermon is introduced by a short address, during which the text is cited, and a short prayer, appropriate to the subject, is said, at the discretion of the Minister.*]

‘ The Sermon.

‘ The Blessing.

‘ *Minister.* The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord
 ‘ show the light of His face upon thee, and be merciful unto
 ‘ thee; the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give
 ‘ thee peace. Amen.

‘ *Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

As regards the Sermon, after the Prayer for Blessing, there follows, “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen;” or, after a short introductory prayer, the text of the sermon is generally given out; both of which the congregation stand up to hear, as they do likewise to receive the Blessing, which is given at the end of the sermon. When the Blessing is given from the altar, one of the Collects may be said or sung before it is given.

When there is no Communion, divine service ends with the hymn that is sung in conclusion; but when there is a Communion, the minister appointed to officiate advances, while the hymn is being sung before the altar, and says—

‘ Dearly beloved in the Lord, forasmuch as we are now minded
 ‘ to hold the commemoration feast of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 ‘ the which was ordained by Him for the strengthening and

‘confirming of our faith; therefore, let a man examine himself, as the Apostle Paul exhorts us so to do; for this Holy Sacrament is given for the comfort and peace of such troubled consciences as confess their sins, fear God, and desire redemption; when they are steadfastly purposed to amend their lives, to flee from sin, and to lead a righteous life. And because that we must acknowledge ourselves to be guilty sinners, and of ourselves unable to help ourselves, so Christ, the Son of God, our beloved Lord, has had mercy upon us, and for the sake of our sins became Man, in order that for our good He might fulfil the law of God, and might take upon Himself and endure death, and all other things, which we have deserved by our sin. To make this His death of power for us, He ordained His Holy Supper, to the intent, that whosoever should eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, believing in the words of Jesus Christ there spoken, (*and in the signs received,**) might dwell in Christ, and Christ in him, and have everlasting life. We have here to show forth His memory and His death, that He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. Thanking God for these His unspeakable mercies, let each one of us take up our cross and follow Him, having love one towards another, according to His commandment, even as He loved us; for we are all one body, inasmuch as we all partake of one bread, and drink of one cup. But whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, that is, with an impenitent heart, without faith in the promise of God, without being reconciled, and without purpose of amendment, he is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and reaps damnation, from which may God mercifully deliver us all.

‘Minister. Kneel down, and hear attentively (vernehmet) the words of the Institution (einsetzungs Worte).†

[*The Minister here turns to the altar, and repeats the words of Institution; the congregation listens to them, kneeling, and stands up after the blessing has been given, ‘The peace of our Lord,’ &c.*]

‘Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and spake, Take, eat, this is My body + which is given for you: do this in remembrance of Me.

* This may be omitted, if desired.

† The idea of consecration is not in the expression *einsetzung*. It means properly authoritative institution; as, for example, ‘Das Heilige Abendmahl, is von Jesu Christo eingesetzt worden,’ The Holy Eucharist was instituted by Jesus Christ. *Einweihung* in the German comes nearest to the signification of the Latin *Consecratio*. ‘Die Elemente (brod und wein) müssen erst eingeweiht seyn, um das Leib und Blut des Herrn zu werden,’ The Elements must be first consecrated, in order to become the Body and Blood of the Lord.

‘Likewise after supper he took the cup, gave thanks, and
 ‘spake, Take this and drink ye all of it, for this cup is the New
 ‘Testament in My blood, which is shed for you and for many
 ‘for the forgiveness of sins: do this, as oft as ye drink it, in
 ‘remembrance of me.

[*Here the minister turns himself again to the congregation, and says,*]

‘*Minister.* The peace of the Lord be with you all. Amen.

‘Let us pray.

‘Lord, who by thy death gavest life to the world, deliver us
 ‘from all our sins and from all evil; give us the power to will
 ‘to continue true to thy commands; and suffer us not to depart
 ‘from Thee, who with the Father and the Son reignest world
 ‘without end. Amen.

‘*Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

‘*Choir.* Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the
 ‘world,

‘Good Lord, deliver us.

‘Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

‘Hear us, good Lord.

‘Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

‘Grant us thy peace, and blessing.

[*While the above is being sung, the delivery of the elements begins, and is continued until all have received, during which any appropriate hymn or hymns may be sung by the congregation.*]

Minister, at the delivery of the bread,

‘Take and eat, saith our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;
 ‘This is My body, which is given for you: do this in remem-
 ‘brance of Me.

At the giving of the cup,

‘Take and drink ye all of this, saith our Lord and Saviour
 ‘Jesus Christ; this cup is the New Testament in My blood,
 ‘which was shed for you: do this in remembrance of Me.

When the Communion is ended, the minister says,

‘*Minister.* Let us pray.

‘Almighty and everlasting God, we give Thee hearty thanks
 ‘for the unspeakable mercy which we have received, by being
 ‘made partakers of Thy holy supper; we humbly pray Thee,
 ‘that Thou wouldest assure us of the working of Thy Holy
 ‘Spirit, in like manner as we have now received Thine holy
 ‘sacrament, that we may with steadfast faith receive and ever
 ‘hold fast Thy divine grace herein promised to us all, forgive-
 ‘ness of sins, and communion with Christ. We thank Thee,
 ‘Almighty God, that Thou hast refreshed us by Thy divine

'grace, and we pray Thee, of Thy divine mercy, that this our
'service may be to the strengthening of our faith in Thee, to
'the increase of brotherly love towards all men, and to our
'growth in godliness and all other Christian virtues, through
'Jesus Christ our Lord, who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost,
'reigneth for ever. Amen.

'The Lord bless thee and keep thee.

'The Lord let His face shine upon thee, and be merciful
'to thee.

'The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give
'thee peace. Amen.

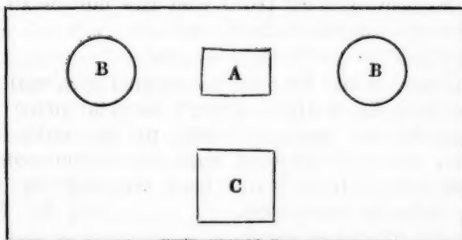
'Choir. Amen. Amen. Amen.

'Final hymn, sung by the congregation.*

The authorized Hymn Book (*Gesang Buch*), contains 876 hymns, and was published in the same year with the new edition of the *Agende*. A Commission, consisting of Brescius, Küster, Marat, Neander, Ritschl, Schleiermacher, Spilleke, Theremin and Wilmsen, with some others who died before the work was completed, were appointed by King Frederick William III. to make a suitable selection of hymns, to form an accompaniment to the New Liturgy, out of the vast multitude of such compositions which have inundated Germany, as well as all other Protestant countries, since the Reformation. The idea of forming such a collection was first broached at one of his late Majesty's provincial Synods, in the year 1817, when the Commission was

APPENDIX TO THE ORDER FOR SUNDAY PRAYER.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ALTAR.



A. The Crucifix.

BB. The Candlesticks, containing lighted wax tapers.

C. The large Bible.

D. Place where the Officiating Minister stands.

The Morning Service on Sundays and Festival days ought not to exceed the time of one hour, or, at most, one hour and a half.

The Consistory, however, has the power to grant permission for a longer service in places where it may be desired.

first appointed to undertake the work. The principle of selection will be sufficiently explained by the following extract, taken from the Preface:—

‘ Among the objects which the Commission were required to have in view, and to obtain which they have laboured with unremitting diligence, have been, first, to make a careful examination of all the older Church songs, dating from the time of the Reformation, up to the middle of the last century, from which as great a number as possible were to be chosen of such as were remarkable for depth of feeling, or powerful expressions of piety, especially if they happened to be among those most known and esteemed in this town and province (Berlin). A like attention was enjoined upon the Commission, to be paid to such of the more recent Church Hymns, which, by their extensive circulation, had earned a sort of citizenship, with the proviso, that they should be found to be not altogether deficient in poetical worth, that the moral contained in them should not seem too confined and unconnected with the doctrines of the Christian faith, and that they should not be more adapted for private edification than public use in the Church. In all which cases, the Commission had no other alternative but to supply their places with others, notwithstanding that these might be less generally known.

* * * * *

‘ Thirdly, *The undersigned have made a point of showing no exclusive partiality to any of the several modes of viewing the doctrines of the Christian faith, and of refusing a place to none, which, as an expression of pious feeling, could be in anywise reconciled with evangelical truth, and the purposes of a book intended for general use in the Church.*

The remainder of the Preface is occupied by a notice of the care that has been taken that all the hymns admitted into the collection should be adapted chiefly to the older standard melodies long in use; and ends with the announcement that their labours, although they are themselves very conscious of the imperfections of their work, have received his Majesty’s approbation and official sanction.

It must be superfluous to say how fruitless it would be to pretend to convey to an English reader any idea of what this Hymn Book contains—876 hymns, selected upon the avowed principle of finding room for the representative of every shadow and colour of opinion that has existed, or can be supposed to have existed, since the days of Luther. It is a very kaleidoscope of Hymnology. The Collections with which we are acquainted in this country, plentifully showered down as they have been, *νιφαδεσσαν* *ἐκκότα* *χειμερίσιν*, upon individual churches, by their

respective pastors, and upon sectarian multitudes by some of their leading men, if they cannot, without injustice, be compared to the snow, for purity and whiteness, at least the several storms, as they have descended, have been, nevertheless, always content with aiming at one single colour and complexion of doctrine. The rainbow, the *Arco del cielo*, is the only natural object that wears this many-coloured robe, and we inhabitants of the earth, when we gaze upon it, can scarce comprehend, for very admiration, the rich glow of its blended colours. It would seem that the Prussian Commission has been somewhat ambitious of this variety for their 876 hymns, and, without any presumption, they may be said to have fully succeeded. It will not, then, be expected that we should here present our readers with specimens of this unusually multifarious description of food upon which the devotion of Prussia is nourished. The attempt, if made, would be much the same as if a traveller, in search of general knowledge, might contrive to make his way into a royal palace, and after there purloining a few fragments from one of his Majesty's banquettes, should imagine himself to have acquired a perfect knowledge of the diet of all monarchs. Yet we hope to be pardoned, if, notwithstanding, we take our leave of this Collection, by making one extract of the Hymn No. 51, which is appointed to be used at the minister's discretion, in lieu of the *Apostles' Creed*:—

Wir glauben all' an einem Gott,
Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden,
Der sich zum Vater geben hat
Dass wir seine kinder werden.
Er will uns allzeit ernähren;
Leib und seel' auch wohl bewahren;
Allen unfall will er wehren;
Kein leid soll uns wider fahren;
Er sorget für uns, hut't und wacht;
Es steht alles in seiner Macht.

Wir glauben auch an Jesum Christ,
Seinen Sohn und unsern Herren,
Der ewig bei dem Vater ist,
Gleicher Gott von macht und ehren.
Von Maria der Jungfrauen
Ist er wahrer, mensch geboren;
Durch den Heiligen Geist, im glauben
Für uns, die wir war'n verloren
Am Kreuz gestorben und vom Tod
Wied'r auferstanden ist durch Gott.

Wir glauben auch an Heiligen Geist,
Gott, mit Vater und dem Sohne,
Der aller blöden ein Troster heisst,
Uns mit gaben zieret schöne.
Die ganze Christenheit auf erden
Hält in einen sinn gar eben;
Hier all' sünd' vergeben werden,
Das fleisch soll uns wieder leben;
Nach diesem elend ist bereit't
Uns ein leben in Ewigkeit.

We all believe on one God,
Creator of Heaven and Earth,
Who hath given himself to the Father
That we might become his children.
He will for ever feed us;
Also defend both body and soul;
He will guard us from all harm;
No hurt shall come against us;
He careth for us, he keepeth us and watcheth;
All things are subject to his Power.

We believe also on Jesus Christ,
His Son, and our Lord,
Who is ever with the Father,
God equal in power and honour.
From Mary the Virgin
Is he born, very man;
By the Holy Ghost, in faith
For us who were lost
He died on the Cross, and from Death
Has risen again, through God.

We believe also in the Holy Ghost,
God, with the Father and the Son,
Who is the Comforter of all that mourn,
Adorning us with noble gifts.
The whole of Christendom on earth
He maintains in one mind;
Here every sin is forgiven,
The flesh shall come to life again;
After this distress is prepared
For us the life of Eternity.

Such is the short and necessarily imperfect insight which we have been able to take into the Agenda of Prussia, as an instrument of public worship, the formation and introduction of which into his kingdom was the great object that occupied the last years of the late King of Prussia. Now, far be it from any person calling himself an Anglican Christian to utter one unkind word against a work which, from the beginning, was prompted by the desire of seeing Christian men more united in their worship of the God of peace than they had before been, profound beyond the ordinary measure of love for the things of God; a work, too, which was carried into execution with an uniform forbearance and a persuasive firmness on the part of the monarch, alike honourable both to his judgment and his piety. In short, but for the act of the present Archbishop of this Church, and his advisers, the Church of England could have had no title to form even a judgment of the manner in which royal zeal for the glory of God and the religious welfare of a people had manifested itself to the best advantage in such a kingdom as that of Prussia. It would have been simply our duty and wisdom to have looked on, and to have prayed that God would bless what was undertaken with a single view to his honour and glory. But the case is now far otherwise. We are informed, in a document entitled 'A Statement of the Proceedings relating to the establishment of a Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, *published by authority*'—By the way, it cannot but be matter of observation, how singular a mode that is of manifesting spiritual authority, which connives at the circulation of a statement professing to be by authority, and yet suffers it to pass current, unauthenticated by any name which can give it the true substance of authority. What is the value of an anonymous claim to authority? This is a new question, peculiar to our generation. Does it mean that the real authority is afraid to speak openly? Or, like some hapless little infant, in the early days of Rome, is this Statement by authority exposed to public gaze before the parent will deign to avow his own offspring? Nay, might not any one disposed to make merry, fairly take occasion to propound the inquiry, whether, if such a Document, being anonymous, be really meant to partake of the nature of a Bull Hierarchical, it ought not to be considered to belong rather to the Hibernian than to the Roman school; and that all of near kin should be looked for in the land of St. Patrick, rather than in the neighbourhood of the Vatican. Taking it for granted, however, in the mean time, though the precise value be unknown, still that some value is to be attached to that which has now for some length of time claimed, without contradiction, to be by authority, we are informed in it, that Germans are to be admitted to Anglican holy

orders, who are after their ordination to celebrate divine service according to the Ritual of Prussia; and further, we are assured that, '*This Ritual, compiled from Ancient Liturgies, agrees in all points of doctrine with the subsequent Liturgy of the English Church.*' In the letter of the Primate to the present King of Prussia, dated Lambeth, June 18th, 1842, we are further told: '*The German Liturgy, which has been carefully examined by me, which is taken from the Liturgies received in the Churches of your Majesty's dominions, will be used in the celebration of Divine Service by the Clergymen who are appointed, on the following principle. Young divines who are candidates for the pastoral office in the German Church, who have obtained your Majesty's royal permission to this end, will exhibit proper testimonials As soon as the Bishop has fully satisfied himself on these points, he will ordain the candidate, on his subscribing the three Creeds—the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed; and on his taking the oath of obedience to the Bishop and his successor, will give him permission to exercise the functions of his office.*'

Here an identity of purpose between Holy Orders as conferred by the Church of England, and a Liturgy compiled and authorized by a King of Prussia, is avowed by the Primate himself of the Church. It is true, that it is not made quite clear from the above, whether an entirely new Liturgy has or has not been compiled for the use of the Prusso-German congregation hereafter to be formed in Jerusalem; any how its use is necessarily for the present in abeyance, there being, as yet, no persons forming a congregation to take advantage of it. Should such a Liturgy turn out to have been framed, it does not affect the fact above stated. For the document in question, if in existence at all, is acknowledged to be a selection from that now current in Prussia, probably such an abbreviation of the whole Prussian Ritual as would be suitable to the circumstances of a small isolated congregation in a foreign city; but, of course, omitting none of the important matter contained in the larger one from which it is professed to be taken. The identity, therefore, remains, and it gives rise to two very important questions, neither of which appears to have met with any portion of that attention, which it were to have been thought could not fail to have been given to it by persons engaged in so sacred and so responsible a task.

The first of these is, whether it is at all consistent with the honour and integrity of the Anglican priesthood, that those who are admitted to the priestly office of the Church, so as to become *bonâ-fide* our brethren, members of the Anglican Clergy, should be allowed to exercise their sacred functions according to a ritual, of which the whole body of the Church knows no more than that

it was compiled and introduced by the wish, and under the sanction, of a King of Prussia, well known for his personal piety, and that it has earned the common report of having sought to conciliate a peaceable adoption from parties holding very opposite sentiments, by sacrificing every strong statement which could be supposed likely to give any offence.* Of the details of this Ritual positively nothing is generally known, and the Church at home is consequently left in a state of uncertainty whether or no the language, thus newly put into the mouth of her future priests, officiating before God, is such as becomes the sacred functions of the Clergy. Nay, with the singularly cautious timidity that has been throughout so lamentably apparent in the whole transaction, we are made acquainted with the fact that the ritual in question has been carefully examined by the Primate, but instead of a hearty approbation, which might have been expected, in order to set the minds of the Clergy at rest—*nothing*, positively *nothing* is said, either in praise or censure, bad, good, or indifferent; all that we are informed (the above anonymous assurance, that there is a general agreement between it and our own Liturgy, excepted) is, that those German divines who may receive Holy Orders from the Bishop, are to exercise their functions by it. Now, where is the security here given to those of the Clergy of the Mother Church, who may be no more than justly jealous for the honour of their ministry—and whose feelings are surely deserving of some regard—that no dishonour will accrue to the holy office whose functions are to be thus exercised? We are not complaining as if none could be given; we are but saying, that, as yet, none, positively none, has been given. It were to have been thought, that a matter of such deep practical import—one which, viewed aright, is so full of heavy responsibility to those engaged in bringing it about, and which necessarily entails so many unforeseen consequences—as the question, whether an Anglican priest should have permission to lay aside the Ritual of the Church, and to adopt another Ritual, would itself have been judged so deeply to concern the welfare of the whole Church, that it should not have been entertained without an accompanying solemnity of public prayer to God, that he would overrule all counsels for the glory of his own name, and the wellbeing of his ministry. Alas, public prayer has no share in modern counsels!

In the case before us, we fear there is but too much reason to confess, sorrowfully indeed, but yet confessed it must be, that no sufficient sense even of the responsibility of the step

* We have since been informed, that an express Liturgy has been compiled for the use of the Anglo-Prussian congregation, of the publication of which we have hitherto not been able to learn any intelligence.

about to be taken appears to have been entertained. The old liturgy is set aside, and a new liturgy given to priests ordained by a suffragan of our Primate, while that Primate is not careful to assure the Church, whose head he is, that he even approves of the liturgy thus given; nay, even the assurance that he has so much as looked at it, is not conveyed directly to his Clergy at home, but appears accidentally, by the way-side, in a letter to a foreign prince. Alas, indeed, for the throne of Canterbury, and the seat of judgment, when its occupant shall be prepared, out of compliment to a foreign prince, to be forgetful of the sacred union between himself and his own Clergy.

The next question is, whether anything formally heretical, and false in doctrinal teaching, is contained in the new liturgy, thus engrafted into the functions of the Anglican priesthood. The determination of this is properly a matter for subsequent inquiry whenever the Prussian Ritual, or the Anglo-Prussian-Jerusalem Liturgy, shall be laid before the English Church. In the present stage of the matter many painful doubts and apprehensions cannot fail to arise. It is a painful and invidious task at any time to seem to be needlessly censorious towards a work which was begun in so truly Christian and loving a spirit as was that of the late King of Prussia, when he attempted to give a liturgy to his people; but when by a definite act of the spiritual authorities of the Church of England, this very liturgy, or its substance, is given to priests of her own ordaining, the rigid scrutiny which before would have been justly looked upon as a piece of wanton censoriousness, now becomes a positive duty, as an act of self-protection. It becomes a duty on our part to ascertain for ourselves, whether we can conscientiously recognise those to be brother priests, who use, not only a different ritual in their functions, but a ritual respecting which we have had no proper assurance given to us that, as a liturgy, it is orthodox and becoming. Had the Clergy of the English Church never been called upon to hail the young divines of Berlin as brother-members of the Anglican Clergy with themselves, there might have been as little cause, as there certainly would have been little inclination, to have examined the Prussian Ritual. But the case is far otherwise now.

The first point that attracts attention in the Prussian Agenda is the absence of all provision in this liturgy for the daily worship of the Almighty. Whatever may be true of the living Clergy of the English Church, that they have failed to render to God the daily portion of worship due to His name, the Church herself has not, as yet, formally taken her part with the Anti-Christ by whom the daily sacrifice is to be taken away. Our Liturgy contains an Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, to

be said daily throughout the year; and the giving effect to this provision is part of the duty with which her ministers are charged at their ordination. The Prussian Liturgy contains no such provision; one Morning Service for the Sunday, and a few other chief festivals, forms the sum total of its provision for the worship of God; and as if there were serious reason to fear lest even that might be thought too much, the book expressly states that, a service of an hour long is ordinarily quite enough; and that if more than an hour and a half is desired, an express permission must be obtained from the Consistory. An Anglican priest, then, confined to the use of the Prussian Ritual, would find himself simply unable to render God his daily priestly service.

Another point of equal importance, again, is found in the Office for the Administration of the Holy Eucharist. Can the elements of bread and wine be said to have received valid consecration by the mere repetition of the words in which our blessed Saviour instituted his Supper? What is the meaning of calling upon the people to *hear attentively the words of institution*? Is it supposed that a congregation, assembled for the purpose of communicating, require to be taught that their Saviour did institute such a supper? Certainly not! They do require to be certified that the minister who stands at the altar has power so to bless the elements of bread and wine that they may become to them the body and blood of the Lord, in the same sense, and in no other, as they were to the apostles, who received them from our Lord's own hands: they do not require to be reminded that our Lord did institute His Holy Supper, yet this certainly seems to be all that the Prussian Liturgy does for those who come to communicate—at least so thinks one who can hardly be suspected of being a prejudiced witness.

‘Ten years after the establishment of the new Prussian Church, (says Mr. Laing) Bishop Eylert, of Potsdam, published a defence (1830) and explanation of its principle and working. According to the reverend author's view, the merit of his new liturgy (he was one of the composers of it) *consists mainly* in the historical presentation of the sacramental elements of the Lord's Supper: in the consecration of the elements in the Lutheran and in the Calvinistic Church, it is distinctly announced to the communicant in what sense it is presented to him:—in the one, it is as the body and blood; in the other, it is as the symbols of the body and blood. The synod of Berlin evaded the dilemma by not consecrating the elements at all, either in the one or the other sense, but presenting them to the communicant with the historical averment, “Christ said, This is My body,” &c. “Christ said, This is My

'blood,' &c,—that is, in its being so presented that *each denomination of Christians may take it, and apply his own meaning to it.*—Pp. 37, 38. (Über den Werth, und die Wirkung der Evangelische Kirche, &c.)—The reverend Bishop forgets that, 'so taken, it is no sacrament at all: it is only a reference to an historical fact, not to any religious signification of that fact, such as Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists attach to it, however widely they may differ from each other as to what that signification is, or ought to be. On his principle, Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan, might receive the Sacrament from him, and remain Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan: for it is only presented to him as figuring an historical fact,—not at all doubted, and not at all connected with any peculiar doctrine attached to that fact. This courtly divinity may suit the meridian of Potsdam, but it is not Christian divinity.'—*Laing*, pp. 188, 189.—*Vide Christian Remembrancer*, No. XVI. p. 403, Vol. III.

As we run cursorily over the remainder of the Agenda, other important defects appear.

The Office for Baptism, it is true, contains a formal enunciation of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and states sufficiently the propriety of Infant Baptism. The Form for the Confirmation of Children is full and solemn; but the power of confirming is given by it to the ordinary minister. The Office of Matrimony is tolerably simple and beautiful. The Form for the Administration of the Lord's Supper to the Sick is merely abbreviated from the larger office. The Order for Burial consists of no more than the sentence of Scripture—'Earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt return;' followed by the declaration—'Jesus Christ will raise thee at the last day;' after which an appropriate prayer.

The most remarkable of these Offices, perhaps, is that appointed for the *Ordination of Preachers*. The officiating Consecrator (who is here, as in the Rite of Confirmation, merely of the rank of presbyter) stands with those who assist him at the altar; those who are to receive Ordination are placed below them. When the *Veni Creator Spiritus* has been sung, the chief minister says solemnly the words, 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' which are followed by a prayer. The names of the candidates for Orders are then read; and the assisting Clergy recite alternately some passages of the Scripture, setting forth the duties of the Clergy; after which, the candidates are required to repeat the Apostles' Creed, and to listen attentively to an address, which declares the nature of the duties they are about to undertake.

After the candidates have declared their readiness to undertake the office by replying to four inquiries put to them, their ministry is given to them in the ensuing words:—

‘Ye have acknowledged your duties; ye have declared your earnest purpose to fulfil the same;

‘God Almighty strengthen you and aid you to perform all that you have promised. And I, by virtue of the power that is committed to me on account of God, (*von Gotteswegen*, not simply *von Gott*) from his Church and from the king to this end, hereby deliver unto thee *the office of Preacher*, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’

Then follow, in due order, a Prayer for Grace and the Lord’s Prayer; after which the ministers present lay their hands upon the head of the candidate, the ordaining minister pronouncing a blessing. The service concludes with a prayer, and an admonition to those that have been ordained.

It cannot fail to be observed as regards this form, that, independent of the absence of the Bishop, whose presence, according to the Anglican Ritual, is indispensable to the validity of the whole proceeding, the laying on of hands does not here confer the office, but is purposely made no more than an addition to the solemnity of the blessing conferred. Not only is the ministry not conveyed by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, but it is not *conveyed* by the imposition of hands at all.

In the three Creeds which follow this office, the deviation from the correct version of the original in the Apostles’ Creed has already been noticed. The Nicene Creed has no more than a permission to be used now and then in lieu of the Apostles’ Creed, in those places where the custom of using it may have been in existence.

In the Athanasian Creed, the word *Catholic* is changed to *Christian*, as in the sentence, ‘before all things he must hold the *Catholic* faith.’ In the Prussian version it stands, ‘before all things he must hold the true *Christian* faith:’ and, again, in the concluding verse, the Prussian version is, ‘this is the true *Christian* faith,’ &c.

The Catechism for Evangelical Christians omits the second Commandment altogether; and divides the tenth into two, after the pattern of many of the Roman Catholic Catechisms.

The latter clause contains a very proper instruction upon the nature of the true ministry of the Gospel, inculcating the belief, that the mission of the minister is from Christ, and that he is vested with the power of binding and loosing.

As far, then, as a brief survey of this sort can convey an adequate impression of the new Prussian Liturgy, it becomes a

very serious question to the English Church, whether it can be said, with any degree of truth, to *agree* in all points of doctrine with the Anglican Liturgy, according to the assurance of the anonymous Statement, and whether it can be deemed to supply, in any sufficient measure, the means necessary for the full and complete exercise of the priestly functions, as we believe them to be conveyed by the laying on of the hands of the Bishop. In whatever degree this shall seem to be the case, and the question remains open for further inquiry, this much is quite plain, there is not a single priest in the whole Church who is not affected by the measure of which we have been speaking, and who is not entitled to enter his protest against an act which, on inquiry, may be found fatally to betray the honour and integrity of his sacred office, and to carry his complaint, respectfully and solemnly, to the seat of that authority which has, for the time, given its sanction to the evil.

We are not, however, anticipating the result of a more deliberate inquiry: we are rather begging that so deeply-important a question may be adequately examined, for the sake of the Church and her responsible rulers; for the sake of the position of Bishop Alexander, and the line of conduct prescribed to him. For these have a right and wrong completely their own, and are justifiable or not, without so much as a reference to any results of his mission which may have been hitherto apparent. We have heard so much of the taunt against the order of Jesuits in the Protestant world, that they never scrupled to do evil that good might come, that even were it to appear, in the review we are now about to take of the results of the mission, that the good, as far as we have any means of forming an estimate, which in matters of this kind must clearly be highly imperfect, considerably overbalanced the evil, there would still be an obvious hardihood on the part of even a zealous advocate of the mission, who should appeal to the results which have followed in proof of the rectitude of the measure. Even the heathen poet could say—

“Careat successibus opto
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.”

And a principle which holds good so well in secular matters, is most likely to have some application in ecclesiastical questions, more especially where the ambiguity is so great at the very outset, as to what may be justly considered success, and what failure. Added to this, that the object of all ecclesiastical measures is avowedly to influence men's minds for their good, to draw them towards the truth, and away from evil. Now, who is able to estimate accurately the influence of a single act, even over an individual mind? How much more fallible, then, must

be the attempt to calculate the results, for good or for evil, of a continually-progressive act, a living system, absorbing living men into itself, stirring them up with an incalculable number of unforeseen motives, such as no living creature could anticipate. The very notion of drawing a true conclusion as to the fundamental principles of any given ecclesiastical measure, from any supposed estimate of its visible results, must fall at once to the ground in the mind of every practical observer, if for no other reason (and other reasons there are) at least for the utter fallibility and uncertainty of any such human estimate. The inquiry lies quite in another region, away from the calculation of results, and mounts up into consideration of the eternal principles of executive law and order, by which God Himself works, principles originating from His Godhead, and vouchsafed to man only so far as he has sought to return again to God, and to recover his once upright and right-thinking nature.

With the review, then, of what seems hitherto to have resulted from the measure, we have certainly no very immediate concern. The character of the mission, as good or evil, depends upon a very different inquiry. It is, then, without any design either to justify or to accuse, that we now approach the remaining part of our subject, in which we intend to cast a sort of glance over the apparent effects that have, as far as may be easily gathered, resulted from it, intending no more than to collect a few particulars, interesting to those who may be on the watch for tokens how the scheme works. That which ought to be viewed independently of all results, is, of course, independent of an imperfect estimate of them. And yet, even imperfect information, to those whose fears, interests, sympathies, and anxieties are awakened, cannot be otherwise than acceptable.

The position of Dr. Alexander has a wholly separate and peculiar interest, involving wholly different and distinct subjects of thought, for two very numerous classes in England. One large portion of the people of England have lately had their attention drawn to the subject of the prophecies, by several enthusiastic writers, whose chief characteristic seems to be, if we may venture to speak plainly, their impatient desire of being permitted to see some vast revelation of God's power upon earth before they die,—a hope, for which they see no other chance, except it be through the medium of the unbelieving part of the Jewish nation. We are not referring to the mysterious subject of the expected millennium, during which Satan, it is thought, will be bound for a thousand years. This ancient and widely cherished hope of the early Church must remain among the secrets of God, which even the angels desire to look into, until God shall please to

unfold the event. What we now refer to, is something of a much more palpably earthly character. Impatience to know what those great ends are for which God has created man, has long been a disease of the human heart, from which even the holiest men have not, at times, been free. The saying of the Psalmist, 'O God, wherefore hast Thou made all men for nought?' betokens more or less of this feeling. It is quite conceivable how an excess of this feeling, an earnest desire to look forward and to anticipate the times appointed of the Father, should, on casting inquiring looks over the earth for tokens of the movement of the nations, be attracted by the sight of the Jewish people; their singular adherence to their own name and customs; their dispersion over the habitable globe; their dwelling among the nations, without being numbered with them; their marked physiognomy, character, and mode of life. Add to this, their past history; their former adoption by the Lord God of Israel; the long series of miraculous dealings to which they were subjected by the ministry of prophets and holy men; here, indeed, is a marvellous sight! no wonder that it should attract the eye, and that people should turn aside to see this great sight. And when it further appears, that to the name of Israel, which this nation still bears, wonderful things are prophesied in the oracles of God, by prophets of their own blood, it is no matter of surprise, that minds alive to the marvels of God's providence, awakened to the fact of there being a hidden mysteriousness in our present being, notwithstanding all that the common-place current of the world, and the ordinary nature of our usual employments, seems to tell to the contrary,—it is not a matter of surprise that such minds, not knowing where to turn to feed their craving for some clearer apprehension of the mystery of their being, and having, probably, never heard of the duty of calmly waiting till it should please God Himself to lift up the veil, should eagerly turn to the spectacle of the present unbelieving nation of Israel, and welcome the belief that in that nation are contained the secret seeds of the great coming manifestation of the power of God, which is, if the truth could be known, the thing which they are longing for.

The world is felt to be very common-place: it does not satisfy a religious mind,—it never did, and never will. Yet, the need of something to satisfy the void within is felt; and in the absence of the voice of their true mother the Church, and for want of a better object on which to fasten their hopes and longings, many religious and earnest minds have fixed upon the unbelieving Jews, as being supposed to contain the germ of that great manifestation of God, in the thought and expectation of which they find an object that does satisfy them.

They have some secret wonderful feeling, as of something great being about to happen, the contemplation of which is delightful. What if the whole Jewish people were to be converted in our day? What a flood of Christian truth would go forth over the earth? What an animated scene the world would become? The armies of light and the powers of darkness actually in conflict! Who would not throw themselves heart and soul into such a cause? Here lies the secret, why the idea of making Jewish converts has been so generally popular. People have not known the Catholic view of the prophetic parts of the Old Testament; and it would now, very probably, cost them the abandonment of too many fondly-cherished dreams, to leave much likelihood that they will readily accept it. Yet the truth is obvious. The Jewish people, after the Lord Jesus Christ, whom St. Paul calls the Minister of the Circumcision (Rom. xv. 8), had lived and died among them, did not wholly become reprobate. Even in those days there was a remnant which believed upon Him. The olive-tree was, indeed, shorn of its branches, but the root still remained in the ground; and the coming of the Messiah did not root it up, but caused it again to bear fruit upward. The Gospel did not take away the kingdom from Israel: it effected a change in its nature, and converted the temporal dominion of David into the ecclesiastical dominion of the Son of David: still adhering to the line of Israel, but extending its border, and embracing the Gentiles as a body, grafting them in, and elevating them to the rank of fellow-subjects, a dignity which before they had altogether lacked.

Those who interpret the promises made to Israel by the prophets of the Old Testament to be spoken of the unbelieving portion of the nation as it now exists, scattered over the face of the earth, have to bear the constant perplexity of not knowing where the line of demarcation is to be drawn between what they consider to be respectively due to the Gentile Church and to the Jewish Church; for they do hold some part to belong to the Christians; and hitherto no satisfactory principle of apportionment appears to have been discovered. Upon the Catholic view, the difficulty does not exist, because a Catholic knows of no such thing as a Gentile Church and a Jewish Church, two distinct and rival claimants for the future fulfilment of prophecy, demanding to be satisfied separately. He is content, with St. Paul, to believe that God has broken down the partition wall, and has made Gentile and Jew both one in Christ; and that there is henceforth but one Church of Christ, the city of God, of whom very excellent things are spoken, which has all baptized persons for its members, be they Jew or Gentile, to which one Church all that the prophets speak belong. What God in His

secret counsels may design to do with the present unbelieving nation of Israel, the event alone can declare. That there are intimations of His will with respect to their future condition in the Scriptures, few will be even inclined to deny; but what these may be, we do not now venture to determine. There is no reason at all to think that they occupy no share in the counsels of God. Doubtless there is some wonderful reason in God's providence, why the Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises, whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came (Rom. ix. 4, 5,) are, as a nation, now unbelievers in their Messiah; and this reason seems to be, that in the fall of the Jews there is some strong warning which has abounded to the riches of the Gentiles (Rom. xi. 12,) which is absolutely necessary to preserve the Gentiles in the faith; and that as concerning the Gospel, they are now enemies, for the sake of believing Gentiles; but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sakes. (Rom. xi. 28.) Whatever St. Paul's revelations may have been touching the purpose of God, as regarded the multitude of his unbelieving kinsmen after the flesh, it is plain he did not hold the modern doctrine of an unbelieving Jewish Church, a rival candidate for the fulfilment of prophecy, with the believing Gentile Church. With St. Paul, God had of two made both one in Christ Jesus; and of this Church thus made one, the body of Christ, was he a minister (Col. i. 25) under his Lord the *Head*.

Enough, however, has been said to account very rationally how it came to pass that the appointment of a bishop, to labour for the conversion of the few Jews who go to die in the city of Jerusalem and the land of their fathers, should come to be so generally welcomed. As time advances, and truer views of the nature of the undertaking begin to prevail, it will not be very sanguine to indulge a hope that the same genuine love for the Gospel which prompted a mission to the Jews of Palestine, will be inclined to seek more hopeful ways of exerting itself in works of mercy at home,—ways less romantic certainly, but far more beneficent. Indeed, a more sterile undertaking can scarcely be imagined, when it is borne in mind that about thirty catechumens, with a weekly salary in some instances amounting to seventy piastres (fifteen shillings), was, in October 1843, the whole ostensible fruit of the mission. We would not, however, be here misunderstood to mean that we think that there is no duty of attempting to evangelize the unbelieving Jews, on the part of a Christian Church. On the contrary, it is a very high and sacred duty; and we willingly bear testimony to the zeal and

learning which has lately been evinced in their behalf; zeal which will doubtless earn a far higher reward than our praise. But we trust, nevertheless, that it is quite possible to feel for the miseries of the Jews, without the necessity of approving every measure and method that has been of late taken to relieve and bring them to the truth.* Say it we must, however painful, there is no occasion to revive—and it has already been done by some, at least, of the forward members of the Jews' Society—the HERESY of the Nazarenes.

* The annexed extract from the notes of a beneficed clergyman, who visited Jerusalem in the spring of this year (1844), will be interesting to some readers:—

‘It consists of Jews, fed and clothed, receiving, I believe, seventy piastres a week each. There might be thirty, at most, in October 1843;—doubtful whether converts or not.

‘A distinction is maintained between Jew and Gentile,—the term *Gentiles* is applied to Christians, not Jews.

‘The service is read daily, in the morning, in Hebrew, at 7 A.M. Collects sometimes omitted, and lessons changed, for no intelligible reason.

‘October 11.—The Bishop’s chaplain and secretary (Mr. Ewald) read the service in Hebrew. For the first lesson, he read Isaiah lxv. instead of Judith xiii. On the 12th of October, Jer. xxiii. instead of Judith xv.; and for the second lesson, S. Mark xvi. instead of S. Mark xv. On Tuesday, the 17th October, the Bishop read for the first lesson, Zeph. iii. instead of Wisd. ix.; and for the second lesson, S. Matt. xi. instead of S. Luke iii. Before the service was sung a hymn from a book called “Songs of Zion.” The book used for psalmody on Sundays, is one printed by the Jews’ Society. On Sunday evenings, I understood there was a service (English) at the Bishop’s house;—what besides the prayers I do not know, as I did not go.

‘The church (now begun, and raised about six feet) stands on ground belonging to the Syrian Church, near which, I believe, a church formerly stood, confiscated to the Turks. This church was in ruins, but the Turks are repairing it for a mosque, for which it has been used, and will be no small thorn to the English church, if ever it is built.

‘Wednesday, October 18, (morning).—The Bishop read, first lesson, Hagai iii. for Eccles. li.; second lesson, S. Matt. xix. for S. Luke iv. No notice whatever taken of S. Luke’s Festival.

‘Thursday, October 19.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. ii. and iii. for Wisd. xi.; second lesson, S. Matt. xx. for S. Luke v.

‘Friday, October 20.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. vi. for Wisd. xiii.; second, S. Matt. xxi. for S. Luke vi.

‘Saturday, October 21.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. viii. for Wisd. xv.

‘Jews are ordained deacons and presbyters; their fitness is more than questionable.

‘The Bishop considers himself the successor of S. James, and virtually sets aside the whole line of Greek patriarchs. He considers the prophecies respecting Jerusalem and Mount Zion as bearing a strictly literal interpretation,—that there the grand centre of the Church is to be placed, and thither all the sons of Zion are to be gathered (*i.e.* the converted Jews.) How the *Gentile* Church is to be incorporated, or amalgamated with it, I do not understand. It certainly, however, holds a much lower rank, and I believe the going to settle at Jerusalem is held out in London as a high privilege to those who are designated peculiarly as “Sons of Zion.”

‘The Oriental Christians are altogether neglected: the sounding phrases in the English Archbishop’s letter are forgotten as so much wind; and the English Bishop lodged on one occasion at the *Armenian* convent at Bethlehem. This cannot lead to friendly feeling on the part of the Greeks, much less to their improvement, as was expected at home.

‘The language of the confession of faith in the Sunday evening service (at

But it is time to pass onward to the point of view in which Dr. Alexander's mission exhibits a more extensive range of interest. It is no longer a secret, indeed it was scarcely a secret from the first, that the object which the Prussian court had in view (for of course there was an object in view) in requesting to be allowed to share in the burden and maintenance of a new episcopate in Jerusalem, was, if possible, to introduce the episcopate from thence into the Evangelical Church which his late Majesty had formed. What in the world could Prussian diplomatists be supposed to care for enthusiastic schemes entertained by not a few warm hearted and well meaning people in this country, for the immediate recovery of the whole Jewish people in their own generation? Do we imagine the cabinet of Berlin to have suddenly become Philo-Judaics, as a little while ago a great part of Europe became Phil-Hellenes? Politicians are much too well acquainted with the facts of the Jewish character and sentiments to be likely persons to give ear to tales of an approaching Jewish conversion. They know perfectly well how unchanged is the love of the whole Jewish people for money, and how ready the mass of that nation are 'to be all things to all men,' for the sake of their national idol, 'money.' When politicians are in want of money, to whom do they go to obtain it?—to the Jews; for, with the reprobation from the kingdom of Christ, there has belonged to that people an understanding in the kingdom of Mammon as far above that of all other nations of the earth, as their darkness in all that pertains to the light of God's revelation exceeds that of all other people. Is it then so probable that a cabinet, in company with other cabinets, accustomed to look upon the Jews as convenient money-agents, should be suddenly smitten with a romantic desire for their instantaneous recovery

three o'clock) may form a comment on this: "I believe in one holy *Christian* Church," not Catholic. ("Eine heilige Christliche Kirche.")

The whole aim seems to be to build up the very wall between Jew and Gentile which the great Apostle and the primitive Church took such pains to break down,—to contradict and falsify the equality and unity expressed in such passages as the 2d chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The only English at Jerusalem, when I was there, with the exception of the mission, (which comprehended the Bishop and his family, the chaplains and their families, the architect, and the physician,) were the Consul and his wife. The Prussian Consul, a very amiable and well-informed man, Dr. Schultz, spoke English fluently, and on Sunday mornings attended the English service.

A Jew, of the name of Sternshuss, or something like it, who had been a servant, was sent to Safed, to pave the way for his ordination. What degree of learning was required of him I do not know, but I heard the standard was *very* low. It is doubtful whether Dr. Alexander himself can construe the Greek Testament, or even the Vulgate. All who condemn any of their errors and strange doings, are denounced as enemies, and as obstructing the conversion of the Jews.—*MS. Notes on the Church of Mount Zion.*

from their love of mammon to the Gospel? Does the cabinet of Prussia, and his Majesty, really sympathize in Dr. Alexander's dreams about the regeneration of that city which Jesus Christ has expressly forewarned us 'shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;' doubtless on purpose that the Gentiles over the whole world may see, in the abiding miserable state of the once chosen city, the joy of the whole earth, an ever-present reflection of the future inexpressible desolation of all who, during this their day of mercy, shall put away God's words from them, and trample under foot the blood of the covenant of the Gospel of the Son of God? No, no! Politicians are politicians; and the object of the Prussian cabinet, whatever it may be, is certainly not likely to have much to do with the recovery of the Jews from their spiritual darkness. The Jews are much too useful for present political purposes to make it over probable that there exists so very ardent a desire in the political world for their conversion to the Gospel. But there needs no proof how little the real design on the part of Prussia has to do with the recovery of the Jews. The maxim of James the First of England, *No Bishop, no King!* has never been lost sight of in the royal counsels of Prussia.

The progress of political sentiments over Europe has plainly shown, even to mere politicians, that religion without a government possessed of an inherent power over the consciences of the people, tends naturally to anarchy, discord, and dissolution. And, notwithstanding that the legitimate objects of the conscientious hierarchical government are necessarily at variance with many of the views and aims of the keen mundane politician, and the ends of what is thought to be good secular government; the one aiming at preparing a people ready for the Lord, trained in the practices of piety and godliness, and requiring a considerable part of their time to be taken from secular purposes, and to be given to exercises having no visible secular utility whatever; the other aiming only at a material prosperity of wealth and fatness of life. This being so, even politicians have, notwithstanding, the discernment to discover that their proper pursuit is not a safe one in the long run, there being a leaven of Satanic agency at work in all human polities, which aims directly at overthrow, anarchy, and destruction, and which only waits its time to go forth to destroy. Wisdom therefore inclines them, even contrary to their avowed principles, to seek for that heavenly power which God has provided to be the salt of the earth, which casteth out the devil; and even politicians seek for the shadow of the tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. In Prussia, so early as the time of Frederick I.,—who

was the first to obtain from the diet of the empire, that the electorate of Brandenburg should be changed into the kingdom of Prussia,—the desire for an episcopal government appears to have been felt. Indeed, the king himself, to add greater solemnity to his coronation, which took place in the year 1700, appointed two titular bishops, Dr. Ursinus, and a colleague, who died soon afterwards, to grace the ceremonial with their presence. And in due time many very interesting letters passed between Dr. Jablonski, the court preacher of Berlin, Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and others, relative to the desired consecration of a bishop for Prussia, and the introduction of the Anglican Liturgy into that kingdom.

On looking over this correspondence, an edition of which was afterwards published in 1767, in London, in the French language, purporting to contain translations from the originals, by one J. T. Muysson, and issued by the grandchildren of the Archbishop, a very commendable spirit appears on the part of the Prussian authorities, as a few short extracts will show.

‘Letter of Dr. Jablonski, first Chaplain, &c. &c., to Baron Printzen, President of Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs in Berlin.

‘Your excellence having lately commissioned myself and colleagues, on the part of his Majesty, to trace out separately a plan of ecclesiastical discipline, I take the liberty to lay my thoughts before you.

‘I conceive that the good order or discipline of the Church does not merely comprise the Liturgy, or the form appointed for public worship and the administration of sacraments, but also polity ecclesiastical, or the form appointed for the government of the Church.

‘I. *Liturgy.* I am obliged to confess frankly, that I have remarked that many evangelical societies, and other churches, have avoided the excesses of the catholic Romans, whose worship is overladen with pomp and idolatry, only in order to fall into the opposite extreme of a service, cold, superficial, and scarcely respectful.

* * * * *

‘The opinion now prevalent in these latter days is, that Divine service consists in the sermon, to such an extent that the term Divine service has fallen into disuse. For instance, people do not say, Will there be Divine service to-day? will you go to the service of God? but only, Will there be a sermon? will you go to the sermon?’

Reflexions of Dr. Jablonski upon the Letter of M. Bonnet, Minister of the King of Prussia, resident at London, addressed to his Master from London.

After making a few remarks upon some observation of Mr. Bonnet, favourable to the plan, he proceeds:—

‘ In my view, two things are incontestable.

‘ I. That subordination is as necessary in the government of the Church as it is in any other society or body politic. Our Saviour compares himself to a captain or general, and his Church to an army; but if all the officers of the army were of equal rank and place immediately under the authority of the director-in-chief, how could the army be governed, and of what use would it be?

‘ II. That this subordination, necessary in itself, cannot be better realized than by means of a well-regulated episcopate.

‘ 1. On account of the veneration which is due to the primitive Church, and for the sake of the conformity with her, that the Christian Church of our days would thus gain; and for fear lest, by being separate from the Roman Church, we be deemed to have estranged ourselves from the Catholic Church.

‘ 2. In order to give no scandal to those Christians who have retained the ancient constitution.

‘ 3. To recover the clergy from the contempt into which their office has fallen in many places. * * * This is not the way (says the Doctor, after having noticed the contempt in which the office of pastor was then held) to show ourselves thankful for the grace of God in having given us the light of the Gospel. When God formed the government, civil and ecclesiastical, of his people, he founded the office of chief priest (*souverain sacrificateur*), as well as different orders of priests and Levites under their chief; and the chief priest whom he chose was brother to their leader, Moses. He assigned also to the whole order of priests revenues and suitable authority. On the other hand, the Holy Ghost has noted, in various places, that when Jeroboam substituted his own plan of ecclesiastical government for that of God, he ordained priests of the lowest of the people. I confess these passages have often occasioned me reflections the most serious, and have grieved me to the bottom of my heart.’—Pp. 80.

The answer of Baron Printzen to the memorial from which the above is extracted, called upon Dr. Jablonski to draw up his project for the introduction of the Episcopate into Prussia; which was accordingly done, in fifteen sections, and presented to the baron the 7th of May, 1711. We wish we could find

room to give entire the whole of this document, on account of the soundness of the views it contains of the perfect possibility of the royal and ecclesiastical functions coexisting peaceably together, the one rendering to God the things belonging to God, and the other to Cæsar those things which belong to him.

This project, however, came to nothing, as Dr. Richardson, who has written the sequel to Bishop Godwin's treatise, '*De Præsulibus Angliæ*,'* thinks, in the first instance, owing to the oscitancy and timidity of Archbishop Tenison, who is said to have refused the application made by Dr. Ursinus for consecration, but who seems, from whatever cause, never to have favourably entertained the scheme of Dr. Jablonski; and afterwards by the death of the monarch and Archbishop Sharp.

In the present generation, the project of Dr. Jablonski appears to have revived, and to have found other advocates; and, as far as circumstances enable a judgment to be formed, there is the same readiness on the part of the civil power in Prussia to admit the episcopate into the kingdom which there evidently was on the part of his Majesty Frederick I. in the time of Dr. Jablonski. The difficulty does certainly not lie ostensibly in jealousy entertained on the side of royal authority: it would seem rather as if eagerness to obtain the Episcopate was characteristic of the royal counsels. The real difficulty lies in the mode in which the people of Germany have been brought up since the Reformation, in their habits of domestic religion, or rather absence of religion, their free range over all sacred subjects of speculation, the nature of their universities, and the system in which that portion of the youth of the country is trained up who are destined to become the teachers of the multitudes. External *discipline* and *self-restraint* are two things to which almost every student of a German university is a total stranger, and more especially the theological student; indeed, by its very constitution, the German university is incapable of any judicious and regular moral, intellectual, or mental discipline. In the days of the Catholic regimen, the calendar and the doctrine of the Church, as well as the habits of ecclesiastical life, enforced a sufficient practical restraint upon the students of the universities, and subjected all classes, students included, to a wholesome and sufficient control. But with the Reformation, and the removal of the legitimate supervision of the true Clergy, there has grown up, throughout the length and breadth of Germany, in that class of the population which resorts to univer-

* The passage containing the censure of the Archbishop was afterwards cancelled, and replaced by a fresh leaf, at the instance of Archbishop Potter.—*Vide Nichols' Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 250.

sities for education, an undisciplined, lawless spirit of life, thought, speculation, and conscience, which at different times has shown such symptoms as have attracted the notice of the civil authorities, and caused no little concern in the seat of government, as to what it would eventually lead. It is also notorious to those who have ever had any personal acquaintance with the living spirit of the university students of Germany, that the only quarter from which there emanates any power of wholesome restraint adequate to the correction of their excesses, is the fear of the police, and of an arrest for a term of years, or for life, in some one of the royal fortresses, Spandau or Ehrenbreitstein. As for degradation or suspension operating, or being likely to operate, as a punishment, and therefore constituting a serviceable power of restraint; there must in order to this be a sense and appreciation of rank from whence to degrade, and of this the students are wholly unconscious; and if they were, the facility of migrating from one state to another, and the plentiful sympathy which the tenets of freedom have created in favour of any seeming martyr in the cause of lawlessness, would still put an end to all internal power of good government; so that, in point of fact, known to no persons so well as to statesmen, the whole university system of Germany exists, throughout the length and breadth of the land, devoid of anything like an internal power of systematic conscientious government, the only power which is sensibly felt, and which is sometimes exerted, being a royal or ducal arrest in some military strong post.

So very little is known in England of the miserable lawlessness of the whole system, or rather absence of system—we mean moral system—in which the educated portion of Protestant Germany is trained up for their future duties in life, that no Englishman, accustomed to what yet remains of the general popular veneration for good order and ancient dignities of the land, can form an idea of what the position or duties of the Episcopate would be if it were suddenly to be given to any portion of Protestant Germany. The Episcopate, as the very name intimates, implies a living governor, entitled to take the oversight of the flock subjected to his pastoral care. It implies a sense, on the part of that governor, of a divine gift of the Holy Ghost residing in him, empowering him to exercise his office as overseer, with a power of censure, reward, and remission, and a trust in the presence of the Holy Ghost, guiding him aright in the execution of his office; and on the part of the people, it implies a sense of the benefits to be derived from their living under such a government, a regard and veneration for the office of their overseer, as being from God, an esteem for him personally, as the person appointed of God to watch for their

souls, and to render an account to Him of them. Such is, to this day, the true relationship between the Catholic Bishop and his flock; and, in the eyes of all good Christians, the ties which bind the chief pastor and his flock together are more precious than rubies, or much fine gold. In a word, their life, thus guarded, is gratefully felt by them to be under the shadow of the wings of the Almighty; and whatever may become of temporal dynasties, the mind of the Catholic Christian towards the Episcopate inclines him to say, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, and thy dominion endureth throughout all ages.' The peculiarity, however, of the Episcopal power—and it is precisely that particular point in it which the worldly politician has the most difficulty to understand—is this, Whence does this extraordinary willingness to submit come? whence this desire to be governed? this eager longing for guidance? this love to hear and obey the shepherd's voice? all which are characteristic of catholic-minded people. The worldly politician in his heart scarcely believes the possibility of such sentiments towards any human governor; accustomed to deal with the principles of the old Adam, he would rather doubt, if so be, his own eyes and ears, than believe the *plainest* evidence of the wonders of the new creation. The politician's maxim,—according to a modern phrase, we believe an American one,—is, that there are but two ways of governing men, *bamboo or bamboozle*; and if so, the notion of governing them by faith, hope, and love, the principles of the new creation, can be no better than a dream. When, therefore, the world did really gain a sight of the wonders of the Christian Church, and saw before their eyes the people following with a glad mind the path pointed out to them by their ecclesiastical governors, who were men possessed of no outward marks of power or pre-eminence, they wondered, they were irritated, they bitterly reviled and persecuted; but they ended, by bowing down before a power, the secret of which they could not comprehend, while its fruits they could not escape from seeing before their eyes. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy, that "because He hath set His love upon me, He shall go upon the lion and the adder, and the young lion and the dragon He shall tread under His feet." The kingdoms of the world bowed down before the Christian Bishops, plain men as they were, and the cross surmounted the diadem and the sceptre.

Need it be said how far otherwise is the case as regards Prussia and her desired Episcopate now, from the circumstances when the Episcopal government first entered those territories for which it is now sought to be regained? Whether sinfully or not, this very government, now sought to be obtained, was forcibly expelled, three hundred years ago; and the point is now

no longer to draw near and receive, for the first time, a constitution which God has provided for the healing of the nations, and which is a boon freely offered to all, but, if so be, to regain a blessing once possessed, now lost,—That is, as regards the recovery of her Episcopate. Prussia is plainly in the position of a penitent, desiring to be restored to the enjoyment of a Divine gift that has been forfeited. How do Divine gifts come to be forfeited?—Surely by the commission of sin, provoking God to withdraw his gifts. How are they to be regained?—If there be any other way than by repentance, and earnest prayer to God, to be, for His infinite mercy's sake, restored to the enjoyment of that which has been lost, it must have been very recently discovered.

Now, is there any symptom at all on the part of the Prussians, or, indeed, on the part of any Protestant, that they believe Episcopacy to be this gift of the Holy Ghost, the recovery of which should be sought for from God with great earnestness, and much contrition and sorrow for the past? So very far from it, that a positive hatred of the restraint and control which the authority of a Bishop would place upon their present inbred lawlessness in every department of science, theology, and domestic habits, is the prominent characteristic of Protestant Germany, north and south, east and west. The mutual love and religious sense of the sacredness of the bond whereby the Catholic Bishop is united to his flock, and they to him, is not to be found; it is nowhere. And yet without this, what is Episcopacy but a lifeless form? In what would even the politician be the gainer, supposing that he were to succeed in negotiating a consecration for his present titular Bishops, if he could not also ensure a portion of the faith, the reverence, and the love, which unites the subjects of the Episcopate to the seat of government, and leads them, willing captives, to what they are sure is the voice of God?

Imagine Neander and Von Eylert to come over to receive by consecration at Lambeth this year a Catholic right to the title of Bishop they now hold, what would be the result?—the people would probably not understand that they had undergone any change: there would not be less turmoil of mind among the learned of Halle, Berlin and Bonn—less doubt upon matters of practical faith. The deep roots of Church government would not be found to take root in a moment's notice, because of the bidding of an executive: rather, would not the event show how much easier it is to forfeit a spiritual paradise, by transgression, than to regain it, and that to those who have forfeited their heavenly heritage there is no other way of recovery than hearty repentance, and earnest prayer, that God

would turn again in favour;—it being indeed a great and undeserved mercy that there is such a way at all?

That it may appear that what has now been said is not entirely devoid of foundation in fact, we proceed to add a few extracts from some of the ephemeral pamphlets that have appeared in Germany, not as claiming any extraordinary degree of authority for such testimony—for the proper authority in such a question is the testimony of persons who have become familiar with the character and habits of the people themselves, through the personal intercourse of many years; and to such we make our appeal in perfect confidence, for the confirmation of what has been advanced,—but because we hope our readers will take an interest in observing a few specimens of the mode in which Protestant Germany at large views the proposed accession of the Episcopate:—

Extracts from German and other Periodicals.

Das Anglo Preussische Bisthum zu St. Jacob in Jerusalem, und was daran hängt. Freiburgh. 1842. Pp. 77. (Published anonymously; it is very well written, and passed through several editions.)

P. 11.—‘Very ominous it must have appeared that among the organs of serious reflecting protestant sentiments, *not even one single note* of real joy or of lively interest would make itself heard . . . Several journals found this Anglo-Prussian combination so extraordinary, so totally opposed to the respective characters, historically stamped upon them, of the two factors, that the only solution of the enigma appeared to be the supposition that there was something as yet concealed in the back-ground. Especially the “Schwäbische Merkur,” and the “Karlsruher National zeitung,” 1841, No. 345.’

P. 17.—‘Has, then, the German Evangelical Church no other symbolical books besides the Confession of Augsburg? Suppose a candidate or preacher under the Bishop Alexander, were to take it into his head to act upon that chapter of the Articles of Schmalkalden which treats of the power and jurisdiction of the Bishops,* how would his Bishop regard him?’

P. 28.—‘What in the present negotiations (for a union) is satisfactory, is, that *not a single theologian* consented to take

* ‘Since, according to Divine right, there is no distinction between bishops and clergy, there is no doubt, that if a clergyman ordains fit persons in his Church to clerical offices, such ordination is, according to divine right, valid and right:—from the Articles of Schmalkalden, which are binding upon all protestant German ecclesiastics.

'a direct part in them. Secret sympathies there may be, in direct support through ambiguous articles in journals. But so far no German theologian has committed himself, as to take an open and positive part in seeking Episcopacy.'

P. 42.—'If communion with Christ is obtained through the Apostles, communion with the Apostles through their successors; if the succession is where there is Episcopacy, and where the Episcopacy, there alone the Catholic Church; then Anglican Catholicism has every where its true companionship only in those circles, to which the Protestantism of the continent, to which the puritanism at home, have decidedly turned their backs.'

P. 52.—'That in Germany no evangelical Christian, except the organs of the recent operations, believes in the apostolical succession of the Bishops, and the jurisdiction of the episcopal dignity, may be asserted boldly to be a fact. Ask all theologians from Hengstenberg to Röhr, if they do not hold the same opinion respecting that fiction.'

Dr. Emil Ferdinand Vogel, in a pamphlet which professes to be an historical survey of the English Episcopal Church, in reference to the principles and claims of genuine Protestantism, after giving a sketch of the efforts made by the French Bishop Bossuet, Leibnitz, the titular Prussian Bishops, Bernard von Sanden and Benjamin Ursinus, Dr. Jablonski, and Archbishop Sharp, speaks of what, to say the least, showed on their parts a most commendable desire for the recovery of unity. 'That as mild and friendly as all this sounded, yet far-sighted men, on more maturely considering the matter, could not fail to perceive that the advantage lay all on the side of the Catholic Church, that the Protestants would not only be no gainers, but would lose everything. And thus, for the welfare of Protestant truth, the whole matter came to nothing.'

The reader will draw in this his own parallel with the present time.*

After giving what he considers to be a fair historical sketch of the events of the English Reformation, he proceeds to what, it is to be feared, was a true and faithful description of the then English Church, from the published letters of one Küttner, who visited England a little before 1796, to establish his position, that since stagnation and abandonment of their duties has all along continued to be the chief thing for which the English

* The author here refers to the Church History of Professor Henke, where precisely the same sentiments occur. Part iv. pp. 549—573, 3d edition.

Hierarchy is at all remarkable, no good could be hoped for, from transplanting their system elsewhere. And if even they were otherwise than they appear, still the very nature of the English Hierarchy is contrary to the spirit and principles of Protestantism, dangerous to the safety of the so dearly won palladium of Protestant liberty of faith and conscience. 'If,' says he, in conclusion, 'a man will steadily take all these things into consideration, it is at once plain that nothing but evil could possibly come from carrying into execution the plan for transplanting the English Episcopal doctrine and Church system into Germany. And herewith the confident hope may be entertained, from taking a collective view of things as they now are, that the more attention is paid to the circumstances of the case, the more men's minds will steadily turn away from giving any countenance to the proposed plan.'

This pamphlet we find is noticed by Mr. Dewar, who says that the learned author occupies seventy pages in proving from history what we are most happy in being able to grant, that the Anglican Church has never been able to tear itself loose from the spiritual fetters of the old Catholic worship; while German Protestantism, bold and daring from the commencement, enjoys unbounded freedom, and delights in what is termed by another of its sons 'fortbildung,' (development.)

A writer, styling himself an Old Prussian, gives the following sentiment, exceedingly characteristic of the notions generally prevalent among Protestants:—

'Hence it may be seen how erroneous was the view of the Reformers to bring back the original form of Christianity into the sixteenth century. This is as impossible as it would be ruinous, and the people of old-fashioned faith (altgläubigen) in our day are under the same error. The original form of Christianity, as a phenomenon of which history treats, is subject to change; as an expression of the spiritual nature, it is unchangeable. And he would form an entirely wrong conception of Church history who did not discern the truth of this position in it. He would convict history of falsehood who should refuse to admit that our present Christianity wears a totally different aspect from that of the Reformation, and this again a totally different one from the first Christianity. This is plain from the still existing church forms of those to whom standing still has been made a first principle. However, no phenomenon in the spiritual world can withdraw itself from the universal law of spiritual development.'

* The periodicals and pamphlets quoted have almost all disappeared from the trade, and it is only through the kindness of a friend, residing on the continent, who collected them at the time, that we are enabled to give these extracts.

Of the estimation in which the Creeds of the Catholic Church are held in Germany, the following is given as a fair specimen:—

‘ Speaking of a certain writer, M. Rupp observes, that his work did but add fresh confirmation to the truth that the present Church knows nothing of any importance as attached to the letter of the Creed. And further, how little the spiritual authorities of the provinces of East and West Prussia favour the strict adherence to the letter of Creeds (symbol zwang), seems as if it could not be better made known to those who happen to be but little acquainted with what relates to us than by the fact, that Richard Baxter’s Book, “The Minister of the Gospel,” is given into the hands of every preacher when ordained, to put him in mind of the day of his ordination. Who is the man who is set forth as a pattern to the preacher entering upon his office? A Presbyterian minister, who was degraded by the Episcopal Church of England; because at a time when many thousands of the clergy acted against their conviction, he remained true to his, and sought to defend Christian liberty of conscience, by declining to subscribe that he willingly, and *ex animo*, without any reserve, believed and accepted all that was contained and ordered in the Book of Common Prayer.

‘ Protestant theologians are, in this point, in perfect accordance with the authorities, that in our Church the letter of the Creed is not binding. The ecclesiastical and theological periodicals, which are edited by Rohr in Weimar, and Bretschneider in Gotha, throw light upon the question of Creeds in every point of view. The scientific labours of Wegscheider in Halle, and David Schultz in Breslau, further confirm this view. And how greatly mistaken would he be who should maintain, that it was by the tenet of “one external form of Cristianity” that the representatives of Rationalism, so called, were distinguished from other theologians.

‘ On the contrary, all who entertain Schleiermacher’s way of viewing Christian doctrine, and who, according to the language of Hegel’s philosophy, have found in it the expression of their Christian faith, hold the same views as to Creeds. De Wette, Ulmarin, Haas, in theological writings breathe the same spirit; and the celebrated Church historian, Neander, would be little understood, were it to be maintained that he did not see, in the present Evangelical Church, a development external to the letter of the Creed.’—*Symbol Zwang*, p. 47.

‘ Does the English High Church, this nursling of kings, be long to us? is she really protestant? It is true she calls herself so, but she is not; a circumstance far from so strange that any one ought to wonder at it.’—*Der Thurm-bau zu Köln*, p. 105.

Extract from the Evangelical Church Periodical, 1843, No. 7.

‘ Since these brothers, (editors of a print in Switzerland) have thought it of sufficient importance to place a testimony of mine, which they have wholly misunderstood, at the head of their paper, what I am now about to bear testimony to as a notorious fact, well known to me from my acquaintance with the higher circles at Berlin, will not be a matter of indifference to them, viz. that I have as yet not met with a single person, from among the highest down to the lowest circle, who held the reform of our Church system, after the pattern of that of the English, to be a point of real necessity; that not a single person is known to me, even by name, whose efforts have been directed to any such end.’—*Otto von Gerlach.*

The ‘*Calner Missionsblatt*,’ No. 1, 1843, (written by Dr. Barth, a man who has for many years conducted the affairs of the Missionary Society;) the ‘*Baseler Heidenbote*,’ No. 3, 1842, and the ‘*Baseler Missionsmagazin*,’ 1841, vol. iv. p. 150; the organs of the friends of missionary enterprises,—all take a decidedly unfavourable view; the former expressly states that it is an illusion to suppose that a Bishop would in any way advance the success of missionaries; the second declares that he has already injured that cause; and the last attributes to the English clergy all the evils that have befallen the Druses.

‘*Rheinwald's Repertorium*,’ (published at Berlin monthly, by Professor Rheinwald,) one of the most esteemed periodicals, of rather a critical and historical, than controversial character, has, April 1844, an article on the subject, taking a decidedly unfavourable view, and regarding the whole as a failure.

‘*Le Semeur*,’ (1842, Nos. 2 and 6,) organ of the French Protestants, is opposed to the scheme, and demands whether the Church of Prussia is ready to follow her political chief, whether she is ready to submit to the Anglican Episcopal ordination, which must sooner or later be offered to her.

Similar sentiments occur in the ‘*Archives du Christianisme*,’ (No. 2, 1842,) and also in a French Protestant Journal; this latter article met with a reply from a French Anglican, Mr. Gourrier. On the whole, the French Protestant (Calvinistic) body, consistently enough, recognises in the measure a declaration of union among all Protestant bodies. Witness the following truly French sentiments, spoken by a Comte Agénor Gasparin at a Bible Society Meeting:—

‘*Toute église évangélique est une sœur, c'est notre église, c'est nous-mêmes! Sur ce rapport tous doivent se réjouir de la fondation d'un évêché protestant à Jérusalem.*’

Perhaps the most important publication in this quarter is one by the candid A. de Mestral, of the Canton de Vaud; 'l'Evêché évangélique de Jérusalem,' (Paris 1843.) He approves very highly of the whole scheme. He, with great truth, considers it the true exponent of what we should call the pseudo-catholicity among Protestants, symbolized by the phrase, *l'unité des formes variées*. He states that the two contracting Churches of Prussia and England treated on the basis of national independence and catholicity, or *l'unité intérieure*: to use his own striking words, 'Une église unique, mais dans le sein de cette église culte séparé et libre par chaque nationalité,' p. 38. Which is exactly what Dr. Arnold's Church Reform pamphlet suggested. He draws, (p. 82,) a curious distinction between the episcopate, viewed as a doctrine and as what might among us be called 'an event in providence.' 'L'épiscopat, la succession des évêques sont pour elle (l'église d'Angleterre) non pas un dogme mais UN FAIT.' The inference is obvious. He insists that Mr. Bunsen was the presiding genius, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London adopted *his* views: and now that the Life of Arnold has proved that Bunsen *alone* symbolized in all their fulness with Arnold's frightful sentiments, this fact is not without its value, and that a very remarkable one. However, Mr. de Mestral admits, (p. 47,) that convocation is the sole constitutional representative of the Church, and that our two chief prelates only act, of course, without any canonical authority, in default of this body: in other words, the Church of England is, most providentially, not committed to the scheme at all.

We would willingly quote many passages from a polemical pamphlet of Dr. Schneckenburger's, but must content ourselves with referring our readers to the original. It is full of extracts from the various writers who have written and discussed the question of the so-called Anglo-Prussian missionary undertaking, and is perhaps that one of the ephemeral productions which will best reward an inquirer who is desirous of learning what people generally, in Germany, think and feel respecting the undertaking. Two other pamphlets, which have been made accessible to the English reader by translation, may be recommended with the same view,—The Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem, by a French Protestant pastor; and The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St. James, at Jerusalem, by Wm. Hoffman, inspector of the missionary schools in Basle.

It would be exposing a reader's patience to a needless trial to multiply quotations similar to those already cited. They are here given as samples of a mode of thought, characteristic of Protestant Germany, which has neither desire nor love for the Episcopal government, which holds fast to nothing fixed in

Revelation, but fluctuates hither and thither, and is really carried about by every wind of doctrine, under the idea of advancement and development of the truth.

Happily for England, as yet we know very little of the sentiments of Germany, and of our ignorance we need not be ashamed. Yet their language now is being extensively cultivated, and, of course, its general diffusion will bring in an influx of literature to which we have long been strangers. If, then, German literature must needs become known, and German divinity attract notice, we rejoice to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Dewar for his sound and able review of the progress of Theology in Germany since the time of Luther. It will be an antidote to the poison as it comes out. It will be found to confirm our fears of the malignant influence that we think must inevitably accompany the spread of the German language. It is satisfactory to see the views of the late respected Mr. Rose so ably confirmed and substantiated; and to both these works we now beg to refer such of our readers as may desire to be convinced that we have not misrepresented our subject.

In fact, the true Protestant, whether he be of Germany or elsewhere, in his heart hates the Episcopal power; his principles, carried to their legitimate extent, lead him to seek absolute freedom from all restraint,—entire liberty of conscience and belief; whereas the Episcopal power is a living human pattern of conscience and orthodox belief, and the end of Episcopacy is to be a guide of conscience and belief to those who embrace its government. It is not in the *truth*, but in the act of *seeking the truth*, that a Protestant thinks he will make himself free. It needs then hardly to be urged, the inference is so plain, that where such sentiments as have been quoted are characteristic of the mind of a people, they are far, very far, from that child-like love for order and guidance without which we are told that men cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

If, therefore, England would benefit the Christians of Prussia, for the present at least there seems to be no other way, except by prayer for them, that they may have given them a sincere love for the pastoral care of 'Bishops.' The only true foundation that the Christian hierarchy can have, is in the love and reverence borne towards them by their people. What is Episcopacy without this, but the outward representative of something inward that is dead; a skeleton form, the heart and life-blood of which has perished? If, therefore, it can be shown that we are mistaken in our estimate of the mind of Prussia towards Episcopacy, we shall rejoice to hear it; but sincerely believing as we do, and having formed our opinion from many opportunities of living observation, that Episcopacy is not regarded by the

Protestants of Germany in the light of a precious blessing given of God,—we can only pray God of His mercy to withhold from them a gift, which as yet they shew no symptom of a desire to receive religiously, and in which they do not as yet understand that the Giver must be honoured; unless the gift is to be followed by a misuse, that will be a far greater curse than its continued absence.

As for the ill advised scheme of union, we can but dismiss it as we began; if it in anywise has injured the character of our Church for catholicity, and there is Dr. Arnold's striking testimony that it has:—

‘ To Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart.

‘ Fox How, September 23rd, 1841.

‘ The first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem is to be consecrated at Lambeth next Wednesday. He is to be the legal protector of all Protestants of every denomination towards the Turkish government; and he is to ordain Prussian clergymen, on their signing the Augsburg Confession, and adopting the Prussian Liturgy, and Englishmen on their subscribing to our Articles and Liturgy. *Thus the idea of my Church Reform pamphlet, which was so ridiculed and so condemned, is now carried into practice by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself.* For the Protestant Church of Jerusalem will comprehend persons using different liturgies, and subscribing different articles of faith; and it will sanction these differences, and hold both parties to be equally its members. Yet it was thought ridiculous in me to conceive that a national Church might include persons using a different ritual, and subscribing different articles. Of course it is a grave question what degrees of difference are compatible with the bond of Church union; but the Archbishop of Canterbury has declared in the plainest language, that some differences *are* compatible with it; and this is the great principle which I contended for.’—*Dr. Arnold's Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 274, letter 257.

If it has its foundation in the violation of sanctions and obligations of canonical law, hitherto held sacred,—we repeat with Mr. Newman, ‘ God grant that it may utterly perish, and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!’

- ART. VI.—1. *The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent. A Sermon Preached before the University.* By E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College. Oxford. 1843.
2. *Copies of the Correspondence in the Case of the Regius Professor of Divinity, and Mr. Macmullen.* Oxford: Parker. London: Burns. 1844.
3. *Two Exercises for the Degree of B.D. read in the Divinity School, Oxford, April 18, and 19, 1844.* By R. G. MACMULLEN, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College. Oxford: Parker. London: Burns. 1844.

WE shall make no apology for bringing before our readers as accurate a statement as we can of the late course of events in the University of Oxford. No one is more sensible than we that the University is not the Church; yet all the reasonings in the world will never convince any man of plain common sense, that the Church is not deeply interested in all that happens there, and specially in everything which has any bearing upon theology; and if there be any moment in which it is desirable to call general attention to the subject, it is the present. Dr. Wynter no longer holds office; so we can unreservedly criticise his conduct, without any suspicion of disrespect for the situation which he lately held, and while the facts are yet recent in the memory of men; as the ancient Egyptians found nothing inconsistent with their loyalty towards their living kings, in the inquest which they were wont to hold upon their memory and acts as soon as they were dead.

We are writing, as we have said, for readers of every class, who are interested in the welfare of the English Church, and must therefore be excused, if, before recording the official conduct of the late Vice-Chancellor, we enter into some detail of the nature and powers of the office he was called to fill, and the state of things at Oxford when he entered upon it; subjects familiar, indeed, to every Oxford man, but some explanation of which is necessary to enable others to appreciate the late events.

The University of Oxford is probably the most ancient corporation in England, and, with its sister university, has powers of self-government, both legislative and executive, larger than any other. The supreme authority of this corporation is the 'Venerable House of Convocation,'* an assembly in which every one who has taken the degree of Master of Arts, and continues to be a member of the University, enjoys an equal right of speaking and voting. This, however, is no democracy, but (like the great

* There is another body called the House of Congregation, the right of sitting in which is limited to certain members of Convocation, chiefly the youngest, with the addition of certain official personages; but as the business of this house is chiefly formal, we need not at present enlarge upon it.

council of Venice, of which every noble was a member) a strict aristocracy; for, before the degree of M.A. can be attained, seven years at least of strict residence within the University is statutely required; during the whole of which the pupil, whether as Undergraduate or Bachelor, is subject to the most rigid discipline and control. When he at length enters the House of Convocation, he is considered qualified to be a teacher of others, and admitted to the full privileges of the University. By this body every statute must be made, modified, or repealed; every degree conferred, every election determined. By its voice is appointed the Chancellor (the head of the University), the Proctors (the chief authorities in matters of discipline), the Professors, and almost every subordinate officer. As a check, probably, to hasty acts on the part of a body which passes decrees by a single vote, without the delays secured in parliament, by first, second, and third reading, and committee, it is provided that the Chancellor alone, and the two Proctors together, have power to put a negative upon any business. This, however, it is important to observe, is merely a negative power; it must not be confounded with the authority possessed, for example, by the Sovereign in Parliament, or even by the President of the United States: it resembles, in fact, the 'intercession' of a Roman tribune; for although these officers have the power of imposing a veto, their active consent is not necessary to the passing of any measure. That which has passed Convocation is law, without any consent of theirs; although, until it passed, they had power to arrest its progress. Again, it cannot for a moment be imagined, that this right acknowledges any sovereignty of the Chancellor over the University; for the same power is, as we have seen, possessed by the Proctors jointly, and none ever dreamed of them as sovereign; as, indeed, for many other reasons, so because they must by statute be junior members of convocation, ten years' standing being a disqualification for the office.

Such is the ancient constitution of the University, and nearly such it still is in theory. Its practical condition is very different. The Chancellor, for example, was some resident member of the University, and elected for a year. The office then became, in practice, triennial. Becoming sufficiently dignified to be an object of ambition, it became perpetual, and at last fell into the hands of great men resident in other places. It was formerly usually held by spiritual, of late years more frequently by temporal peers; but, in the hands of either, it is evident the executive power vested in the Chancellor could be personally exercised only in a few more important occasions; and hence arose the Vice-Chancellor, who is merely the representative of the Chancellor, invested (during his absence) with most, but not all, of his

functions; appointed by him annually, but not admitted to office until the appointment has been confirmed by the same 'House of Convocation' by which the Chancellor himself is originally elected.

But a greater change than this was the rise, within the University, of the College system, which has grown by slow degrees, until the collective colleges have become coextensive with the University itself; and the great body, under the shadow of which colleges have been nurtured, is practically regarded by most persons as merely a collection of colleges, a thread upon which those pearls are strung together: in truth, as we shall see, it rather resembles the shell in which they have been slowly formed and matured. The Colleges and Halls arose naturally when the number of students in the University became so great as to require discipline more individual and particular than the University functionaries were able to exercise over so many. They grew up at Oxford, as the tutors' houses have at Eton, from the necessity of the case. A hall was but a house where a certain number of students dwelt together, under the superintendence of one senior member: a college was a similar house, endowed with land for the support of the head, and also of the students, both during their pupillary state, and when they became members of convocation. Thus arose a number of smaller corporations within the University (like the Companies of London); but it was by no means obligatory on any of its members to belong to any smaller society; and the members of these colleges (whether graduates or under-graduates) were, in the eye of the University, merely so many of her members, no way distinguished from others of like order, who belonged to no college at all. This was the state of transition. The course of events has been continually to augment the power of the colleges. First, they admitted students beyond the number to whom they afforded endowment. At last a statute (which is still in force) required every member of the University to be resident in some college or hall, within a week after his admission. Saving for this statute, a man might even now, as formerly, continue a member of the University alone. Another change (made in the reign of Charles I., in order to prevent jealousies and contention between the members of different colleges) provided that the election of Proctors (hitherto vested in convocation at large) should henceforth be exercised only by those resident members of convocation who belong to a single college, each enjoying the right in turn. But a change far more important in its practical results—although these certainly were never intended—was made at the same period. A statute was passed, which enacts, that for the better preservation of peace and order, the Vice-Chan-

cellor, the two Proctors, and the Heads of the respective colleges and halls, shall meet every Monday, and 'there deliberate on the maintenance of the privileges and liberties of the University (as need may occur), and discuss, investigate, and consult on the observation of university statutes and customs; and they shall have power to deliberate on any subject connected with the discipline, studies, credit, and well-being of the body, as they shall judge to be needful, in order that, after their deliberations, the matter may be promulgated in congregation; and then the Venerable House of convocation may make its statute and decree thereupon, with mature counsel.' Such a committee would, of course, be found practically useful. Accordingly, another statute, tit. x. s. 2, orders that when need arises for passing or altering any statute, it shall be referred to this Board of Heads; that when they, after consultation, have agreed on the wording, it shall be proposed in congregation in those words; and that afterwards, when it shall be brought before convocation, it shall first be read in the terms agreed on by the Heads; and that at the conclusion, after the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and majority of Graduates, shall have come to an agreement among themselves on the wording of the statute, it shall be read according to that wording, and then put to the vote.

The meaning of this statute seems plain enough: proposals were often made which required to be put into shape; as is done by a committee, (select or otherwise, as is found convenient,) in parliament; it was provided, therefore, that when any statute was proposed by any member, it should, before being put to the vote, be referred to the hebdomadal Board of Heads, as a committee, by whose care it might be properly worded; but (to preserve the rights of convocation from whom the power of the Head is only delegated) after the statute drawn up by them has been read, it is to be discussed, its wording amended, according to the judgment of the majority, and then the whole put to the vote.

This was a very seemly and business-like arrangement, but the Heads, like many other small committees, were not indisposed (having got their finger into the work of legislation) to take the whole affair into their own hands. Accordingly, they proceeded to interpret this statute as follows, viz. that no member of convocation may make any proposal whatever, that right being reserved (by the statute above quoted) to the Board of Heads. Next, that no member may propose any amendment, either verbal or material, to the prepared statute as drawn up by them; accordingly, the custom for many years has been that the Heads prepare their statute; convocation is called together, and it is read; then immediately read a second time, of course

in the same words; then discussed, and lastly put to the vote, yea, or nay. This being all the power allowed to the legislature of the University, the Venerable House of Convocation, by its own committee, the Board of Heads.

And now, it may be naturally asked, how came convocation to allow an interpretation so monstrous of this important statute? The answer commonly given, and we believe the truth, is as follows. The Vice-Chancellor, who is always the head of some college, possesses the power of dissolving the venerable house, and this power was used whenever any member of convocation proposed any measure or any amendment; so that the University found they must resign the exercise of their undoubted right, or suffer all business to be suspended. A grosser usurpation than this cannot very easily be conceived, and to our feelings it is the more repulsive, because effected, not by lawless force, but by the astute employment for the oppression of the University, of a power granted in good faith, for its benefit.

In saying this we are censuring no persons now living, for the usurpation took place long ago,—whether it will be suffered to continue much longer remains to be seen,—a well-known and respected member of convocation (Mr. Sewell, of Exeter College) has solemnly pledged himself, (as many of our readers may be aware,) in a protest delivered to the Vice-Chancellor on the 4th of June, 1842, ‘to institute such regular proceedings in the way of appeal as may obtain some authoritative decision of the right of convocation to be consulted, like other supreme legislative bodies, upon the general principles of the measures laid before them, prior to, and independent of, questions of detail;’ and also to appeal on the further question, ‘of the right of convocation to dissent from the terms of the proposed statute between the first and second readings of it.’ Mr. Sewell, then, has pledged himself in the most solemn manner to vindicate, by legal proceedings, the rights of convocation; first, to decide what questions shall be referred to the Board, and, second, to amend the wording of statutes drawn up by them. We have not yet seen any public report of his proceedings;—but the course of law in England is slow and sure;—‘*pœna pede claudo*’ may be close upon the academical usurpation.

Meanwhile, the practical government of the University, by whatever means, has unquestionably in a great measure passed out of the hands of convocation, in which it is vested by statute, and into those of the Hebdomadal Board;—a mere committee of a few members of convocation, (for whatever power they may have in their own colleges, they are nothing more in the eyes of the University,) appointed for certain definite, and those subordinate, functions. It is natural, then, at least, to inquire

what has been the practical working of the system?—what qualifications the Board has shown for the office which it has assumed? Now, it must be admitted, that the Board is not the body which we should have recommended for such functions. It is reasonable to require that a body which claims to represent the whole University, should be deeply imbued with its character and temper; that its members should be so selected as to represent the different interests, the different schools of opinion, the different studies and pursuits, of the whole. As far as possible, we should desire to secure the presence of members who are used to mingle in the society of the best and wisest among every class of the University, whose habits of daily life enable them to descry the first approach of any danger—any relaxation of discipline, any neglect of study, any corruption of doctrine.

Now the Heads of Houses are unquestionably a body, for good or evil, *sui generis*, in Oxford. It so happens that the statutes of most colleges, while they obviously suppose the whole society, fellows, head, and all, remaining unmarried, do not make express application of the point to the heads particularly. The ordinary, and no doubt true, explanation of this apparent anomaly, is, that the idea of a married Head did not happen to occur to the founders, in an age when celibacy was enforced upon the clergy; and when all the professions being practically exercised by clerks, the legal and medical, no less than the theological, fellowships, were never probably held for many years by any who contemplated marriage. Certain it is, that the statutes of Protestant Elizabethan, and even later foundations, do not permit the heads to marry: and that the founders of Wadham College, who lived since the Reformation, *e.g.* made the wardenship no less than the fellowships of their college untenable by a married man; although parliament, in the exercise of that supreme authority over conscience, in which, (to judge by the conduct of many sound Protestants,) it has succeeded the Papal See, has seen fit to dispense with the solemn oath by which every member of the college voluntarily binds himself to observe their statutes, as the condition of his enjoying their bounty; and has enabled the Wardens of Wadham to receive, with a safe conscience, the revenues of good Nicholas Wadham and Dorothy his wife, while they consign their statutes to oblivion. Parliament had no doubt weighty reasons for thus setting aside the provisions of the founders: what those reasons were we know not; but the fact that the Heads of colleges are generally married men, is known by all who are acquainted with the University, to be attended with much practical evil. They are usually highly respectable clergymen; in some instances, men of considerable talents and learning; they are very much such men as twenty-four senior fellows, taken

pretty nearly by rotation, might naturally be expected to be; varying much from each other, as might be anticipated in a university where the fellows differ so very widely among themselves. But, with all these differences, in one point the mass of the Heads are alike; they are almost absolutely unconnected with the rest of the University; their connexion with it is often scarcely any, beyond the fact of their residence in the midst of it. They are men removed, by standing in most cases, by daily habits of life in almost all, from its society, and from almost every object in which its members are interested. Their knowledge of them hardly extends beyond dining-acquaintance; of the wishes and feelings of the University, events have shown that they have not even the most glimmering perception. Their unacquaintance even with the members of their own colleges, is often so entire, as to be scarcely conceivable in men who live within a few yards. A Head, himself of unquestioned strictness and piety, has been known to offer the curacy of a parish of which he was incumbent, as title for orders, to a member of his own college; to whom, when he applied for the usual college testimonials before his ordination, the fellows were obliged to refuse them on account of his notorious habits of intemperance,—notorious, that is, to every member of the College except its (nominal) Head. Such occurrences vex many, but surprise few.

In this state, with a good deal of formal and routine business thrown upon their hands, and forming a society more wholly unacademical, probably, than any other of the same size in Oxford, live those who consider themselves the governors of the University, and who have in a great degree (in practice, if not in law,) attained that function. Our readers will easily believe that, like other persons similarly circumstanced, they are in part, and believe themselves to be wholly, overwhelmed with business; which the body of the University strongly suspect their office to be something very nearly approaching to a sinecure. Whatever may be the degree of business thrown upon these dignitaries, it is certainly not of a kind calculated to foster that high and saintly character to which the Church would willingly leave the administration of her chief nursery. Not among these rulers of the University have arisen, in general, the great lights of theology, the high and gifted divines, the solemn and awakening preachers of the age. Neither are they employed in offices strictly pastoral; for even when a parish is annexed to a headship, its duties are in every case performed by deputy. Even the University which they profess to rule, receives little light from their teaching. By statute, the University sermon, every Sunday morning in term, is to be preached by the Heads of Colleges in rotation; in practice, a man may often look back at the close of his acade-

mical residence without being able to remember more than one or two out of the twenty-four who have ever discharged the duty. A stronger proof could hardly, we think, be given of the total want of the higher qualifications needed for the rule and direction of a great theological university, whose Heads must discriminate between true and false doctrines, must sit in judgment upon books and upon preachers, must stand on the watch, (while the great body of the Clergy are employed, each man in the detail of his own parochial engagements,) to give the first signal of danger, and rear the standard against the first irruption of the enemy. The example of one who was intrusted with the education of boys has lately been brought before us. We saw in him much to regret, indeed, but among many admirable qualities, who could fail to admire the simple reality with which he made the pulpit of Rugby chapel one main instrument in directing and ruling the hearts and consciences of his scholars? Dr. Arnold applied for the appointment of chaplain, because he felt that the performance of its duties was a necessary part of his own parental relation towards his pupils; every year does the duty of fulfilling the same office devolve on the Head of every college in Oxford, and most rare is the example of one who does not delegate it to another. This, indeed, is nothing more than every one would desire. Who could wish to see the pulpit of the University occupied by any except one or two of the Heads? They judge wisely when they decline it; only they confess, that theirs, after all, is not the province of moulding the hearts, and directing the faith of the rising generation of the English Church; that they are not, whatever they may be called, the real directors of the University.

We sincerely trust that no one will suspect us of any disrespect toward the Heads of Colleges. Any one who has passed through the University must retain recollections of kindness and courtesy in many, and of much higher qualifications in some of their board; but it has now become necessary to speak out, and declare that they are not the University of Oxford, nor yet in any degree either authorized or qualified to speak in her name; And, for this reason—that they have in several instances undertaken to do so, and the world at a distance (seeing a body so acting) have assumed without inquiry, that they must act by authority, nay, that in disallowing their claim, the convocation would, in fact, be resisting authority; whereas, in truth, convocation itself is the supreme authority, and those who claim authority over it, are, as we have seen, only a committee of its own members appointed for definite functions, and with delegated and subordinate powers, no part at all of the ancient government of the University, but, on the contrary, the very newest and youngest of all the bodies there existing. These are facts

which it might always have been well to bear in mind; but when, as we shall now proceed to show, new and hitherto utterly unheard of encroachments have lately been made upon the supreme authority, and when the purpose for which these usurped powers have been employed is no other than that of denouncing the ancient doctrines of the Church of England, as held and understood by all our great divines, of unjustly oppressing all who dare to profess them, and of fixing upon us by authority a new and spurious system, a hybrid theology engendered between liberalism and (self-styled) evangelicalism, half Germany and half Geneva; then, indeed, it becomes the duty of Oxford to protest, at all risks, and however unwillingly, against power thus unauthorized and thus abused.

Our readers need hardly be informed that, in our opinion, the crisis which we have just described is not hypothetical or possible, but actual and present. But before we proceed to prove this, we would remove an objection which we cannot but foresee will be raised against us—the objection of *a priori* improbability. ‘You are speaking,’ it may be said, ‘of no men of a remote age or country, but of Oxford men in our own day. We know what class of men this is; nay, you have yourself borne witness to it; easy, kind-hearted, and amiable, somewhat indulgent towards self, and disinclined to be severe towards others; unwilling even to say anything which can give pain; neither ambitious to suffer martyrdom, nor yet desirous to inflict it. Such is the character naturally fostered in times of refinement and luxury like ours; and such we know to be the temper natural to a dignitary of the English Church in the present day; and if not the highest character, it has still much to demand our sympathy and respect: above all, it cannot be supposed that men of such a temper would be guilty of injustice or oppression, much less that they would be unjust and oppressive in the peculiar direction of religious persecution, and that the persecution of views held by the recognised authorities of our Church.’

We need not say that this argument has much weight, and it is accordingly earnestly pressed. It is not, however, difficult to exhibit, in reply, several circumstances which do in fact altogether remove the improbability; and if, in explaining our meaning, we are forced to speak of individuals, this is not our fault. When personal character is adduced as a proof that we have nothing to fear, we are forced to inquire what that character is. If any one had argued, a few years ago, that the well-known moderation and goodnature of Lord Melbourne was security enough against any evil that might be feared under his administration, he would have forced us to inquire whether there were no other parts of Lord Melbourne’s character which might be mis-

chievous enough, in spite of good humour and moderation. When Madame de Staël declared that the character of the Emperor Alexander was a constitution to his subjects, she appealed in fact, as far as in her lay, to every Russian and Pole to say what sort of constitution that was; and when we hear of the 'kindness of Dr. Wynter,' and the improbability of oppression in Oxford in our day, we are driven, whether we will or not, to look a little deeper into the security which we derive from these things. Now, we need not inform any one who has observed the course of the world, that, in estimating any body, and especially any small body of men, we must look not at every individual, or even at the majority, but at few, and often at one. There were ten generals with equal powers in the Athenian army at Marathon, but the victory was won by Miltiades. The city of Carthage was for many years but the body, of which the spirit was Hannibal; and, in a body of twenty-four Oxford Heads, the real moving power will perhaps at all times be in one or two active individuals; in an energetic minority.

First, then, we are met with the fact that one **member** of the Board is Dr. Hampden.

Dr. Hampden, be it remembered, *still says* (for he boasts that he has nothing to retract, nothing to qualify, nothing to explain) that several expressions of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds 'are founded upon notions both unphilosophical and unscriptural; but used only to exclude others *more obviously* (sic) 'injurious to the simplicity of the truth.' He still 'puts the 'Unitarian on the same footing precisely of earnest religious 'zeal and love for the Lord Jesus Christ on which he would put 'any other Christian,' although he blames him for 'theological 'dogmatism.' He still teaches that 'Christ is emphatically said 'to be our atonement; not that we may attribute to God any 'change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done; but 'that *we may know* (sic) that we have passed from the death of 'sin to the life of righteousness by *Him*, and that our *own hearts* 'may not condemn us.' He still holds that 'the general belief 'in magic, in the early ages of the Church, may sufficiently 'account for the ready reception of such a theory of sacramental 'influence,' as that which every true Churchman holds to be a Divine Revelation; and that our Lord 'accommodated Himself,' to this notion, when He said 'Virtue is gone out of Me.' He still publicly pronounces the Creeds 'a dogmatic and sententious wisdom;' 'some of the infinite theories which can be raised on the text of Scripture,' to say nothing of numberless other assertions, some even more offensive than these, only not so short as to be transcribed with equal ease.

We have mentioned Dr. Hampden first, because his views are

published, and long controversy has rendered them a matter of notoriety. We may, without indelicacy, name another Head: Dr. Hawkins, the able and respected Provost of Oriel College; for his sympathy with, and support of, Dr. Hampden is put forward, as a matter of the highest commendation, in a work recently published, and to which he has himself contributed so many interesting materials, as to assure us against saying anything unacceptable to him in repeating what we find there. We may then assume, that his powerful influence at the Board is exerted in the same direction with that of Dr. Hampden.

We had rather weaken our argument than mention names, except in connexion with avowed published statements; and the fact cannot be concealed, that a publishing Head of a house is a rare phenomenon, as we have already seen to be the case with regard to preaching. We are content then to say, that two at least of the ablest members of the Board are publicly pledged to statements such as we have quoted.

And is this able and active minority an exception to the pervading influence commonly possessed by such bodies?—let facts answer. About ten years ago, when the Church and her institutions were the objects of fierce and open attacks in high quarters, an attempt was made in the House of Commons, and promised at one time to be successful, to force open for the entrance of dissenters, as such, the doors of the University of Oxford, and the degrees both there and at Cambridge. This attempt was quashed by the united opposition of all Oxford men. A paper, headed 'The Oxford Declaration,' lies before us, from which it appears that the protest of the resident Masters is dated, April 24, 1834; that of the non-residents, April 25; and that of the heads, May 2. It seems that, when the University moves to the rescue of the faith, it is not its head that goes first. There are other occasions, however, on which Heads are willing enough to lead the way. Dr. Hampden was then, as now, a Head; already, too, he had been honoured with a university professorship; he had been elected Professor of Moral Philosophy, the appointment being vested in a small section of the Heads; and having published much that was very objectionable in his lectures from that chair, he was elected, in 1832, Bampton Lecturer, the nomination being intrusted by the founder to the Heads of Colleges,—an appointment which produced the volumes so much spoken of. Thus empowered, as we must say, beyond any other to speak in the name of the Board, Dr. Hampden published, in the autumn of 1834, 'Observations on Religious Dissent, with particular reference to the use of Religious Tests in the University.' From this pamphlet and the Bampton Lectures, to which it refers

throughout, it appears that Dr. Hampden objects to tests, on the ground that religion consists of 'facts,' not in any degree of inferences from them; and that these facts are merely the very letter of the declarations of Scripture,—all doctrines whatever being but inferences—which men cannot help making because others have, although it would be much better that none should be made at all. It follows, that although the author himself adopted the doctrines of the Church, he adopted them not as doctrines, not as any part of his religion, but as mere theological opinions;—it was an infirmity of his nature, that he could not help forming some inferences from the facts of religion, and it chanced that those inferences coincided with the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, and the like, which we hold as our life. Yet, God forbid that he should make these opinions any part of his religion, much more that he should think worse of any other man's religion because he denied them. Now, what was the conduct of the Heads when these doctrines were preached by one of their own body, from the University pulpit, and afterwards published both in sermons and pamphlets? Did they convene the preacher before a board of Six Doctors, or proceed to condemn him by such a board without convening or hearing him? Or did they, at least, issue a declaration against the pamphlet? No; but yet they did feel it necessary to do something; and therefore they proposed to convocation a statute for removing the signature of the Articles at Matriculation; a proposal which was, of course, far from satisfying Dr. Hampden, but which was a most decided move in his direction. Moreover, a 'Letter to Lord Radnor' was published, which was universally attributed to an influential member of the Board, in which we are told, 'the question of the removal of subscription is gaining ground. It has been twice considered within the last two years' (this must mean at the 'Board,' for elsewhere it had not been proposed), 'and found many more supporters on the second occasion than on the first.' He concludes, therefore, 'Time is required: we may not move very quickly; but ought we to do so?'

It appears, then, that the effect produced upon the Board of Heads by the publication, by one of their own body, of repeated attacks upon all Christian doctrine, as doctrine not opinion, and specially on the creeds of the Church, was this, that they gave no sign of diminished confidence in him; and moved, slowly indeed yet decidedly, in their practical measures, in the direction to which he invited them.

But the power of the Heads was not supreme. They had left to convocation (that is, to the University) the right of saying, 'Yes,' or 'No.' And on the 20th of May, 1835, it did say 'No,' very unequivocally, by a majority of 459 to 57 against.

A few months past away, and the excellent Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity, was taken to his rest, from the strife of tongues. We are not going to weary the reader with the detail of those exciting events, which made 1836 a year so memorable in Oxford,—the appointment of Dr. Hampden,—the general burst of indignation and alarm with which it was met by all Oxford men,—the exertions made to induce Government to select some other name,—the determination of the great body of the University to procure some authoritative condemnation of his works,—the tardy concurrence of the Heads (now, as before, following, rather than leading),—the legislative measure proposed by them, instead of the formal trial demanded by the University at large,—a measure valuable, because it contained a censure upon Dr. Hampden's theological writings; yet never satisfactory to those who had forced it from the Heads, and containing one expression,* which subsequent events made men almost fear, must have been inserted to enable those who could not prevent the censure to watch for an early opportunity of procuring its repeal.

And now what impression were these things calculated to produce upon the minds of English Churchmen? Could they inspire confidence in the Board? Could they reconcile us to see the government of the University practically more and more engrossed by them, from the hands of the ancient and statutory authorities? We will speak plainly,—thinking men could not but perceive, that no common qualities are needed by the rulers of a Christian university. Among these are sound theology and deep learning, together with high self-denying piety, giving a pledge for freedom from all secularity of spirit, and, moreover, for a fixed and definite line of conduct of their own, independent of pressure from without. They saw these to be needed already, and they could not but anticipate times when they might become more urgently needful. But, withal, they could not but feel that (whatever might be the case with some of its members), it was not by these qualities that the deliberations of the Board were mainly influenced. And, therefore, there was a very extensive want of confidence in their fitness to maintain the very foundations of the Christian faith, of which we could not but feel the danger. It was not that men suspected the majority of the Heads of any conscious unsoundness of belief upon the chief mysteries of the faith; that

* We allude, of course, to the phrase, '*Donec aliter Universitati placuerit*;' which, no doubt, might mean, 'until Dr. Hampden shall have recanted and vacated the chair,' but was afterwards explained by the framer of the statutes to mean, 'till the University shall change its mind'—that time, we are thankful to say, has not yet arrived.

they regarded them as Socinians or Sabellians,—nothing could be further from the truth. But it is not from any earnest proselyting by those who hold these heresies that we dread their success; it is from secularity of spirit in those who ought to maintain the purity of Christian doctrine. This is, perhaps, the chief source of heresy in every age; but most assuredly in none so much as in our own. Let us not forget our present circumstances. An age of coldness, of rebuke and blasphemy, fell, beyond all question, upon the English Church in the last century. It is within the memory of many now living, that a young man, of the highest character and qualifications, being reproved by a Bishop, who was believed to belong to the school of Hoadly, for preaching what was then called Methodism, pleaded in his defence the authorized declarations of the English Church; and received answer, that such as that was indeed formerly the doctrine of the English Church, but that the Church had tacitly changed her doctrines, and it was now exceedingly presumptuous for a young man to teach those which had been abandoned alike by the bishops and clergy of the existing Church. At a rather earlier period, when subscription was assailed in parliament, it was the boast of infidels and latitudinarians, that the Articles of the Church found no defender,—and, be it remembered, that the articles assailed were not those which refer to minor points,—the Christian's oath, the lawfulness of arms, and the like,—but the fundamentals of the faith—the three Creeds. Of the glorious Athanasian Creed it became a sort of proverb to say, 'I wish we were well rid of it.' And when this state of things was at last shaken by earnest (though, in some respects, mistaken) preaching, the cry from all quarters, high and low, was, 'Beware of enthusiasm.' Enthusiasm, however, was seldom talked down by cold caution; and it went on its way, and accomplished its victory, insomuch that the fashion of this changing world is now to praise and admire as 'efficiency,' 'evangelical preaching,' and the like; that which, a few years ago, it would have reviled as enthusiastic. But it is quite needless to say, that the world seldom patronises a religious school without receiving a payment for its patronage,—religion is secularized as often as the world made religious; and thus it has chanced that many of those who regard themselves as the legitimate successors of the earnest men of the last century, have, in truth, inherited from them very little more than their phraseology.

Now, in such a state of society, let us for one moment imagine the governing body of a great school of religion to be men of a low and secular spirit, men more engrossed by thoughts of professional advancement,—or, again, by mere comfort and ease,

and the gentle intercourse of society, or even by literary pursuits—**than** by study or meditation upon the great depths of theology; **who are** not, in any real sense of the word, living lives of self-denial—**waiting**, watching, and looking out for the coming of the Lord, **living** under the constant sense of His presence, and the contemplation of His sufferings. Suppose such a state of things, and by what outward symptoms would it be betrayed? We may be pretty sure that such a governing body would not be the energetic, practical preachers of Christian holiness, of Christian hopes, and Christian fears; that they would either avoid the duty, or perform it heavily. If great moral and social evils stalked the land, it would be by others, rather than them, that the alarm would first be sounded; and by others, rather than them, would great sacrifices be made to arrest their progress. They would not persecute indeed, rather they would gently encourage, a moderate profession of what was considered evangelical, while they would shrink from any extremes. And supposing the higher mysteries of the faith, or the creeds of the Church, to be treated with disrespect as mere scholastic subtleties, to which other ages had assigned undue importance, we should not expect to find them stirred by that deep and piercing pain with which saints and doctors have started at the touch of heresy. They would consider these as mere speculative errors, as abstract opinions; and, in truth, to such as them these great doctrines must ever be mere speculations and opinions; for it is by living upon them, by leaving all for them, not merely by that negative faith which consists in not disbelieving them, that they become to men more than mere opinions—even living and practical realities; and if the propagator of such sad opinions should be one of their own body, the sharer of their daily society, their weekly associate in business—they might go away shrugging their shoulders at his speculations, and there the matter would rest. Thus, then, it seems plain, that no deliberate heresy, no conscious abandonment of the faith, is necessary to make men most unfit to be its guardians and defenders. They need merely be comfortable, respectable, self-indulgent men of a secular spirit, and the cause will be no safer in their hands than in those of conscious traitors.

As often as the faith has been assailed, so often has God raised up some champion to beat back the invaders. These men, each in his day, have been reviled, suspected, denounced, and (where it was possible) persecuted; but they have done their work, and the truth has been handed down; they have suffered, and they have succeeded; and we reap the fruit of their sufferings and of their victory. But who have been the instruments in this blessed work? Holy bishops, worn with

long toils, and fasting, and prayers, and the care of all the churches; monks long dead to the world and its delusive promises; hermits of the Egyptian desert—not the decent and respectable men who would fain gain as much of this world as it is possible to grasp without throwing away all hope in the next. For not to mention the great gifts of spiritual perception given to those who thus follow the Lamb wheresoever He goeth, and take up their cross; it is evident, that to these holy men, the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Sacraments, the indwelling Spirit, are not abstract opinions; they are their very life; they are those things for which they have gladly suffered the loss of all things, and for which they would again, more gladly than before, give up all the world if they had it. Rob *them* of these things, and you leave them nothing,—neither the things that are seen, nor the things unseen; neither this world, nor the other. Self-denial, and the crucifixion of self, then, is the school of the Champions of the Faith. Well fed, sleek orthodoxy, is the orthodoxy of peaceful times and of fair weather.

Supposing, then, that men of a secular spirit should ever obtain the rule in a great school of the Church in times like these: such would be their administration, and by it the door would assuredly be left open to the inroads of heresy. But, without presuming to judge individuals, just such as this has actually been the rule of those who have possessed themselves of the chief power in Oxford. Dr. Hampden may, perhaps, have been sent to try them, whether they were disposed to regard error on the higher mysteries of the faith as a matter of vital concern, or as a mere abstract opinion. They were weighed, and found wanting; before the great body of Oxford men arose at once and wrested from them a tardy censure. But there was one test more by which the same spirit might be shown. It might please God to raise up, under such rulers, some whom He had prepared for a great work of reformation. To one, He might give that keen and penetrating glance by which the great Athanasius instinctively saw through every subtlety of false doctrine, and a glowing earnest power which (for want of a better word) we may call eloquence, to send sacred truths through all the rind of prejudice and worldly-mindedness, with which men have enveloped themselves, and make them feel that God is with him of a truth. He might gift another with unwearied powers of application, and great depth of thought, so that no difficulties should be more than incentives to his pursuit of any worthy attainment, and an earnestness of purpose which carried away with it the minds of many common men. Having thus prepared chosen instruments, He might be pleased to endow them with

singular graces—eminent devotion of themselves and all they have; gentleness and meekness, which might soften the breasts even of savages; guileless simplicity, humility so great as to be unconscious even of its own existence, and the like;—what gift of Him “from whom all good things do come” is so precious as men like these? Now how would the rulers whom we have been imagining receive men such as these?—Not of necessity with the forbearance which they extended to the ‘abstract opinions’ of the other. What if such an one should be (as is not unlikely) very practically impressed with the sin and danger of spending God’s gifts upon ourselves? What if he should recall men as with a voice of thunder, to forgotten practical duties? if he should remind them of fasting and mortification of the flesh? if he should show them that sin is a thing of mysterious malignity, in those especially who have been made the temples of the Holy Ghost? And when it appeared that tens of thousands were perishing without the means of grace, or the hope of glory, what if he called on men to make sacrifices for their relief, with an earnestness wholly discordant to the temper of their minds, and the course of their lives? what if the contemplation of great spiritual wants should so grievously weigh upon his mind, as to affect him as their personal calamities have affected many men, and lay him upon a bed of sickness?—what if, while others are thinking it a great thing to give a few shillings, or pounds, to provide for the spiritual necessities of their brethren, he should offer, from less means, his thousands, and seem to himself to have done nothing, because he felt himself to be offering to his God and Saviour; and seeking ‘treasure in Heaven?’ Here it is evident enough we have no ‘abstract opinions;’ these things are positive, obtrusive, offensive.—‘There is one man, but I hate him; for he does not ‘prophecy good concerning me, but evil.’

It is perhaps not inconceivable, that the same authorities who were before so tolerant, might be eager to condemn men like these, even if they dare not allege any reason, lest it should condemn those whom all the people hold to be prophets.—And again, if they thought that they had found in their writings, or those of any who sympathized with them, anything inconsistent with the formularies, the same men might be ready to spring on this with savage delight, who could before pass over denials of all doctrine.

Now return, once more, from an hypothetical statement, to the facts which we have witnessed,—it cannot be denied that many men, while they would have shrunk from the presumption of judging individuals, thought they saw circumstances not unlike these in the conduct of the same authorities who dealt so

tenderly with Dr. Hampden. Without going into particulars, one of these authorities found it necessary to preach a sermon, in order to apprize the University of its danger;* and in this sermon we find him denouncing especially 'gloomy views of 'sin after baptism,' (although he does not explain whether it is a duty to regard sin in Christians as a peculiarly jovial thing,) and grouping with these views in his condemnation, 'rigid mortification, and self-abasements, and painful penances, which call 'us back at once to the darkest period of Roman superstition.'—He notices too with especial condemnation a passage (quoted from St. Ambrose) which says, that in the public penance for great crimes, '*the world must be renounced:*' (the italics are the Professor's) 'sleep must be indulged less than nature 'requires—must be interrupted with groans—must be sequestered for prayer. *We must live so as to die to this life.* Man 'must deny himself, and be wholly changed.'—P. 42. The dignitary who felt it needful to denounce these statements, had found nothing to call forth his energies in Dr. Hampden's 'Bampton Lectures,' and 'Observations on Religious Dissent!'

We sincerely believe that, in points like these, lay the gist of the offence of several persons who have given much umbrage to the authorities at Oxford. We suspect that they might, with much quiet, have insisted upon the Apostolical succession and the authority of the Church, and such obsolete doctrines, if they had steered clear of practical matters, or at least had only so treated them as that they might safely have been left among abstract opinions.

Upon the whole, then, we think that men had good reason to feel doubtful before Dr. Wynter entered to his office, whereto things were tending in the administration of the Heads. They saw them exercising authority much greater than any statute authorized; they had seen this power pass by the public preaching of one who, himself professing most of the doctrines of the Church, yet placed them and every class of heresy upon the same footing. Lastly, they saw an evident tendency to tolerate everything, except the revival of the ancient theology of the Church of England, when that was combined with high and exalted practice.

Our limits require that we should proceed to the doings of the late Vice-Chancellor, and we can afford to be more brief in this; because we have already exhibited the principles of his administration, and therefore confine ourselves to his acts. When the President of St. John's took, in rotation, the office of Vice-

* 'The Revival of Popery,' by G. Faussett, D.D. the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. 1838.

Chancellor, those who thought that freedom from bigotry, and gentlemanly bearing and address, were sufficient securities against maladministration, must have looked forward to a season of mild rule. He was little mixed up in the parties or disputes of the University, and not very extensively in its society. In fact, it is said that he was more commonly thought of as an Oxfordshire gentleman than an academical authority—a result not unnaturally promoted by the fact, that his college possesses several manors in the vicinity of Oxford. He was esteemed a good man of business, and men thought him well qualified to act as the chief magistrate of the university and city. After what we have premised, our readers will be prepared to hear that we would gladly have heard of some more theological qualifications, and that we regard all these highly respectable qualities as, rather than otherwise, unfitting their possessor for forming a sound judgment upon the relative importance of religious questions. We think, moreover, that one whose mind and habits were more strictly academical, would have been less likely to forget the important fact, that great as is the authority of the Vice-Chancellor, the supreme power is in Convocation, that is, in the University itself.

The first public act of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship, was the public condemnation of one of the 'Tracts for the Times,' by the Board of Heads. We are not going to say one word in defence of this tract, although we retain our own opinion that, in a University, where several leading members have been permitted, without censure, to assail, both from the pulpit and the press, the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith, it would have been a glaring inconsistency had any authority whatever ventured to condemn a work, of which its accusers say only, that it gives an interpretation of some of the Articles more favourable to the Roman Church than the Articles (in their opinion) allow. But let that pass. We will allow, for the sake of argument, that it merited all condemnation; but we say, that, in censuring it, the Board was guilty of a gross usurpation and encroachment upon the authority of the University. The Heads of Houses are merely twenty-four members of Convocation, except so far as they are by statute constituted into a Board for certain purposes. Among these they are not authorized to condemn obnoxious publications. Such censures have been pronounced, not by them, but by Convocation. They are authorized, indeed, to consider any subject, and therefore this, for the purpose of proposing a measure to Convocation, but for no other purpose. It is no answer to say that the Heads had the same right which every member of the University possesses, to express their own opinion of this work. No one denies their

right as individuals, but as a body they are the creation of Convocation, and have no powers of acting, save those which Convocation has given them. But, in truth, their sentence professed to be the act of the University, and was so regarded by the world. It was intended to be so understood; and so it was and is understood. Here they were guilty of an act of usurpation as gross as can well be imagined; and this usurpation was aggravated by all the circumstances: their sentence (the sentence, not of a court, but a cabal) was issued from the press, with every formality which could have attended a real *Judicium Academicæ Oxoniensis*. This was no promising commencement.

We pass a year, and meet with the new Divinity Statute, which passed Convocation May 12, 1842. The occasion of this statute was the foundation, by the Crown, of two new Professorships; one of 'Pastoral Theology,' (which means, we are told, all that relates to the ministerial office;) the other, of 'Ecclesiastical History, and Patristic Theology.' These chairs were to be endowed with the two Canonries in Christ Church, which the ill-omened measures of the Commissioners misnamed 'Ecclesiastical' had abolished. Thus far the measure was a concession to the united voice of the Church, and could not be received otherwise than thankfully. It was also generally felt that the theological distinctions of the University, (the degrees of B.D. and D.D.) are, in fact, open to any Master of Arts who chooses to pay the fees, and assume them; and the Board, it seems, proposed to alter this, while they regulated the office of the new professors. That this was a reasonable purpose, may be admitted; although many might be disposed to doubt (with ourselves) whether, on the whole, the apparent anomaly might not be, in fact, a less evil than that which must necessarily attend any public examination of the candidates for Divinity degrees. We do not, however, wish to detain our readers on this subject, upon which, at least, the majority of the Board had as good a right to their opinion as we have to ours. The statute, then, after regulating the residence and lectures of the new Professors, provides that those who choose (after obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Arts) to give in their names for the purpose, shall be called Scholars in Theology; and after having attended certain courses of lectures, shall have the right of offering themselves for examination. Two examiners are to be appointed every year by the four Divinity Professors, and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, out of their own number; and a third is to be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor, and confirmed by the Graduates in Divinity. The examiners thus appointed may give or refuse certificates to those whom they examine:

those who obtain certificates are to be styled Candidates in Divinity; those who fail may present themselves again.

We are not about to discuss the details of this statute.* It is, however, to be observed, that it is entirely optional with every B.A. whether he will or will not be a 'Scholar,' or a 'Candidate in Divinity;' the whole is purely voluntary. This was quite a new feature in the University system: every other voluntary examination is a step to some scholarship, or the like; this leads to nothing. The 'Candidate in Theology' has no greater advantage towards his Divinity degree than any other Master of Arts. One other manifest effect of the statute is to substitute, as far as may be, for the University itself, in all matters theological, another body, namely, the five Professors, four of whom are simply nominated by the Crown, the other being elected by the Graduates in Divinity. It would be easy enough to show reasons against this arrangement.

But the strongest objection to the statute in the minds of many Oxford men was, that, by vesting the Regius Professor of Divinity with new functions, while that chair was occupied by Dr. Hampden, the University might, at least, seem to have forgotten the circumstances which led to the censure of 1836. For this reason (had there been no other) the statute ought, in our opinion, to have been rejected by the University; and that it would have been rejected, had time been allowed to the great body of Masters of Arts to express their feelings, we have no doubt. But the measure was announced and carried in a few days, and many non-residents were ignorant that it had been proposed, until they heard of its adoption. Moreover, the measure had no professed relation to Dr. Hampden; it was a general statute, and only affected him incidentally; while, as we have shown, the members of Convocation possessed no power of amending the proposal, they could but adopt the whole, or reject the whole; and by rejecting it, they laid themselves open to the charge of refusing to meet the wishes of the Crown, by providing for the more effectual encouragement of theology, and the like: for we may be sure that, had the statute been rejected, the very suggestion that it had any bearing upon Dr. Hampden would have been scouted as monstrous.

Carried, however, the measure was, although nearly one-third of the members present, in all only 85, recorded their votes against it.† It was no sooner carried than the tactics of its proposers were in part disclosed. They were announced to the

* Our readers will find this task ably performed in an article in the *British Critic*, for July, 1842, with which we have made free use.

† We must again refer our readers to the very able and graphic account of these matters in the *British Critic*.

world in the following article, which (to the great annoyance of many an Oxonian, who had never heard of the statute) went the round of the newspapers:—

" OXFORD.—By the provisions of the theology statute passed at Oxford last week, Dr. Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity, has been constituted chairman of the new Theological Board, and is also recognised as a University Professor of Dogmatic Theology. The statute, therefore, virtually rescinds the judgment passed by the University on the Professor's theological opinions in 1836, on occasion of his appointment to the Chair by her Majesty, at the recommendation of the late Whig administration."

We believe there were few who read this, without feeling that the University had been (to speak plain English) entrapped; but there was no time for more than passing feelings, for a few days more produced the following authorized notice:—

" The following form of statute will be promulgated in Congregation on Saturday, the 4th of June next, at ten o'clock, and submitted to Convocation on Tuesday, June 7th, at two o'clock.

" P. WYNTER,
Vice-Chancellor.

" Delegates' Room, May 24, 1842.

" Quum per Stat. Tit. xvi. § 8, 11, publicatum et confirmatum in Domo Convocationis die V^{to}. mensis Maii, A. D. 1836, statutum sit, ut Theologiæ Professor Regius munus quorundam in eodem statuto memoratorum expers sit, donec aliter Universitati placuerit ;

" Placuit Universitati Statutum istud abrogare."

Notwithstanding all that had been done to prepare us, most Oxonians were altogether astounded at what they would have called in any less dignified body, the impudence of this measure. That the whole University should be expected, at a week's notice, to rescind their own solemn act, the circumstances remaining perfectly unaltered which had induced them, at so great sacrifice, to sanction it; and that the preamble of the proposed repealing statute should actually recite no circumstance upon which the repeal was based, except the fact that the censure had been passed by the University six years before—all this did, no doubt, seem amazing. The event, however, proved that although premature, the calculation of the Heads was less preposterous than it at first sight appeared.

First, if there was any one of the majority of 1836, whose condemnation of Dr. Hampden was in any degree as the nominee of Lord Melbourne, this at least was gone by. It is the nature of Englishmen to shake hands after a good stand-up fight is decided; and now that Lord Melbourne was removed, let bygones be bygones.

But, again, it cannot be concealed, that the whole of that section of the University which is represented * by the 'Christian Observer' and the 'Record,' and which had supported the censure in 1836, was now for removing it. The 'Christian Observer' had long before declared, that 'if they could ever 'have doubted the excellence of the appointment,' a certain sermon of Dr. Hampden's would have satisfied them of it.† The 'Record' ‡ had just pronounced 'the appointment itself an excellent one.' The reason of this change is more evident than satisfactory. Dr. Arnold stated in 1836, in a letter to a pupil, printed in his Life, that this section of the Church joined in the condemnation, not in consequence of any real difference between themselves and Dr. Hampden, but only because he did not use their peculiar phraseology. How bitter would have been the indignation called forth by this declaration, had it been made publicly in 1836! But, lo! Dr. Hampden did adopt that phraseology, and, in adopting it, he repeated solemnly, both in public and private, up to the very day of the proposed repeal, that he altered no one opinion he had ever expressed. Dr. Arnold's assertion,—which seemed at the time merely his own opinion,—was tested by experiment, and, alas, it has been fully confirmed. We could not mention any man who is generally supposed to belong to that party, and who opposed the repeal. We could mention many, including, if we are not misinformed, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University, and one member of the Committee of Five in 1836, who supported it; and meanwhile nothing is altered in Dr. Hampden except his phraseology. Those who support him may say, indeed, that they do not in every point agree with him; but thus much is certain, that every one who voted for, or approved of, the repeal, as the section of the Church which calls itself exclusively Evangelical too generally did, is pledged to the opinion, that one who speaks as he does of the Creeds—of the Sacraments—of the Socinian heresy—of the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the rest—is fully qualified to be the authorized teacher of divinity to half the Clergy of England—so fully qualified, that it is incumbent on the University rather to condemn itself (by repealing a censure solemnly passed), than to leave any stigma upon his theology.

The result of the whole is known to our readers. The votes of the University were declared to be 334 against the measure of repeal proposed by the Heads, and 219 for it. Upon

* We would earnestly beg any reader who may not be acquainted with it, to study carefully the 'Essay on the Introduction of Rationalism into Religion,' in vol. iii. of the Tracts for the Times, in which this painful fact is by anticipation explained.

† We quote from memory.

‡ May 21, 1842.

this decision, we must say a few words in passing, because the able writer, to whom we have more than once alluded, seems to doubt the possibility of any considerable error in the numbers, although he bears testimony to the general suspicion upon the subject. We must take the liberty of saying, that it is not only possible, but very probable. The 'placets' were retained by themselves in the 'Convocation House;' the 'non-placets' being sent into the 'School of Divinity.' When the two were thus divided, tellers were stationed at the door which admits from the Divinity School into the Convocation House, to number the 'non-placets' as they re-entered the Convocation House; and others at the outer door of the Convocation House, to count the 'placets' as they left the building. But, as both processes went on at the same moment, the 'non-placets' who came out of the Divinity School into the Convocation House could not stop there—there was no room. They were hurried on in a crowd mixed promiscuously with the 'placets,' through the door at which these latter were then being counted, and through which they ought of course to have passed alone. At this outer door, therefore, the work of the tellers was not merely what it should have been, to count those who passed, but to ascertain from each as he crowded by, which way he voted. The crowd was dense, the confusion hopeless; and the question asked of each was in the words, 'placet?' or 'non-placet?' We need not say that the effect of the least indistinctness, or noise, or the passing of another person between the voter and the teller, was to cause the first word to be indistinctly heard; and the voter, who had already been counted as a 'non-placet,' was again numbered as a 'placet.' The result (admitted, we believe, by all who had means of judging) was that, while the majority was correctly numbered at 334, the minority was over-estimated by at least one-half. This was observed by persons on both sides. We can vouch for the fact, that when the non-placets were leaving the Convocation House for the division, one of them lingered to the last moment on the highest seats (which overlook the whole house) in company with a friend who is one of the ablest and most zealous of Dr. Hampden's supporters. Looking down upon the 'placets' who were then alone in the area, each made such a calculation of their number as the time allowed, and each independently made them about 150. Whoever has tried the experiment will admit, that his tendency is to over-estimate numbers in such a situation: that two persons independently should have counted 150 instead of 219, seems hardly possible.

Thus much for the honour of the University. With regard to Dr. Wynter, we do not know that he took any public part in this affair; but we shall show hereafter, that he did not

scruple to interpose his official veto in circumstances in which, we believe, it had never before been employed by any Vice-Chancellor on record, and by so doing, he made himself clearly responsible for every measure brought forward by the Heads during his administration. Certainly, if there was ever a proposal which, for the sake of peace, of the credit of the University, and for the maintenance of Christian doctrine, a Vice-Chancellor might have vetoed, it was this; which had been already so fully sifted and investigated—already had twice called up the clergy of England from their home duties; and on which it was generally understood that the real hope of the agitating party was, not that the body of the University had changed their opinion of Dr. Hampden's doctrines, but that their patience and their purses might be alike exhausted by these repeated calls.

There is, however, one aspect yet more painful in which this proposal must be regarded: we mean, in its connexion with the theological statute passed just before. That statute, as we have seen, professed to be merely general and permanent; but it is impossible to believe that those who framed it had not then in their minds the measure by which they immediately followed it up, for repealing the censure on Dr. Hampden. Indeed, many who supported this as a general measure one week, were notoriously found the next arguing that it committed the University in favour of a particular functionary. A more serious charge, however, could not very easily be proved against the fair-dealing of any body of men. Of course such a step goes the full length (as far as its influence extends) of dissolving the whole fabric of academical society. Mutual confidence and respect are the foundation of all civil communities. What will be the state of Oxford if it is to be understood that every Master of Arts is to scrutinize every practical measure proposed by the Board of Heads, not as designed to effect its alleged and professed objects, but as an artful device for tricking the University into the acknowledgment of principles, which, if honestly put forward, it would at once repudiate? And yet to what other result does this lamentable precedent tend? Such a state of things would be bad enough any where; but Convocation has not, practically, the power of amending any proposal. It can but accept or reject the measures proposed to it in the gross. Is it really meant that each man is in future to vote against the whole of every practical measure, however important, however indispensable he may believe it to be, if he thinks that there is in it so much as one expression, however unimportant and incidental, which either implies false principles, or may have been introduced by some subtle adversary, whose interest it may hereafter

serve* to contend that it did imply them? Do not those who thus exercise powers, however obtained, deserve above all men the censure (which they are rather too fond of lavishing upon others) of being *perturbatores pacis*?

We defer, for the present, another series of unjust and oppressive acts which followed immediately upon this unsuccessful attempt to implicate the University in an approval of Dr. Hampden's theology, and which, indeed, must be regarded as retaliation for the defeat, and turn to the case of Dr. Pusey. He was called to preach in his turn before the University, on Sunday, May 14, 1843. Being aware that some expressions in his celebrated work on Baptism had been misunderstood, he had, as he tells us,

"On such occasions as my office afforded, commenced a course of sermons on the comforts provided by the Gospel for the penitent, amid the consciousness of sin; with the view to meet the charge of sternness, involved by the exhibition of one side of Catholic truth; in this course the sacred subject of the Holy Eucharist of necessity came in its order; and it was my wish (however I may have been hindered by sudden indisposition from developing my meaning as I wished) to point out its comforting character to the penitent in two ways:—first, indirectly; . . . secondly, because in Holy Scripture the mention of remission of sins is connected with it.

"In essaying to teach this, I could not but forget controversy having in the commencement warned against irreverent disputing, I lived for the time in Holy Scripture, and its deepest expositors, the Fathers; and was careful to use rather their language than my own, lest on so high a subject I should seem to speak overboldly. Conscious of my own entire adherence to the formularies of my Church, and having already repeatedly expressed myself on this subject, and in the very outset of this sermon conveyed at once, that I believed the elements to 'remain in their natural substances,' and that I did not attempt to define the mode of the mystery.† . . . I had no fear of being misunderstood. . .

"My own views were cast (so to speak) in the mould of the minds of Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Bramhall, which I regarded as the type of the teaching of our Church."—*Preface*, p. iii.

Of the sermon itself we will only say that it is written throughout in this tone and this spirit. We need say nothing more to prove how singularly offensive it must have been to

* We are compelled to notice a similar instance, in the use made of the words, 'donec aliter Universitati placuerit,' in the censure upon Dr. Hampden. What would have been thought of any man who had voted against the statute because it contained them?

† Our omissions are only of a few words, which we have passed by, rather than bring in sacred words in a discussion to the subject of which they are not suited.

many of that day's congregation. The ancient theology of the English Church is notoriously very different from that which has extensively prevailed ever since the age of Burnet and Hoadley. And if it is more dangerous to attack an offensive preacher, when he says nothing more than has been said a thousand times of the great lights of the English Church, as well as the Saints of Antiquity, still it must be admitted that such a preacher is, on this very account, far more provoking than one who brings forward offensive matter of his own. Now there sat opposite to Dr. Pusey a brother professor, Dr. Fawcett, who had in print declared concerning Bishop Cosin, (whom the Bishop of Exeter has just pronounced 'one of the most distinguished Prelates of the Diocese of Durham, and one of our 'most eminent ritualists,') that 'it will be difficult to imagine 'that those who adopt his views fall much, if at all, short 'of what has been commonly termed consubstantiation.' And who had, moreover, declared his own view to be, that Christians 'show forth, declare, or commemorate the Lord's death, '*representing by visible symbols His absent body and blood.*' Of course he could hardly be ignorant that every revered divine of the English Church would at once reject this statement, as heresy. Whether it be so or not, is not our present question,—we merely intend to notice two circumstances which go far to explain the proceedings in the case of Dr. Pusey. His accusers and judges (they discharged both offices) were well aware that they had to deal with no new opinions, no inventions of his, but with the recognised theology of the English Church. And they were already pledged in print against that theology.

Still we suspect the difficulty of condemning Andrewes, Bramhall, Cosin, and the like, would have caused Dr. Pusey to pass unmolested; if there had not been much of a singularly offensive character in his sermon. His very earnestness,—those who have had the privilege of hearing him say, that it brings to their mind the text—'Cry aloud—spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, 'and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of 'Jacob their sins.' It was impossible to treat all this as a mere fancy—a peculiarity of a learned bookworm,—to put it off by calling it 'like Dr. Pusey,' and the like; and then, when, to adopt a contemporary account, 'towards the end of the sermon the 'preacher, lowering his voice to a pitch which we believe he considered inaudible to the mass of the congregation, solemnly 'addressed the Canons of Christ Church, and the other Doctors 'sitting within a few feet of him, just under the opposite pillar, 'on the duty of weekly Communion, with a pointed allusion to 'the neglect of it in that Cathedral; the words were heard by all, 'as indeed the merest whisper would have been, at that moment,

‘from one end of the Cathedral to the other;—all this of course could not but create a desire to silence the obnoxious preacher, yet how to do it was the question; for the sermon was so strictly Anglican, that to select any one proposition for censure, would have been simply to condemn themselves.

Of course each of our readers knows as well as we, how this difficulty was avoided, but we must briefly record the facts, because they form the chief public act of Dr. Wynter. On Wednesday he wrote (in his usual civil terms) to inform Dr. Pusey that the sermon had been complained of, though without mentioning by whom, which was never made known to the accused, except by rumour (the well-known practice of the inquisition), and demanding a copy of the sermon, that he might deal with it as directed by the statute. The sermon was sent as quickly as the severe illness under which Dr. Pusey laboured when it was delivered would allow, accompanied by a note, in which he requested (what seemed hardly necessary) that if any further explanation were required, he might be allowed a hearing. To this request he received no answer, but it transpired that the Vice-Chancellor had called in the aid of the Provost of Oriel Dr. Hawkins, the present Vice-Chancellor Dr. Symons, the Master of Balliol Dr. Jenkyns, Dr. Ogilvie the new Professor of Pastoral Theology, Dr. Faussett Margaret Professor, who is generally understood to have been Dr. Pusey’s accuser (although knowing that by statute he must be one of the judges), and Dr. Jelf Canon of Christ Church. So far Dr. Wynter’s proceedings were statutable. Next came the trial. Of this, when, where, or how, it took place no one but the judges knows anything. No answer at all either way was made to Dr. Pusey’s demand, or rather entreaty, for a hearing. No communication of any kind, direct or indirect, took place between his judges and him until, after eight days, he was privately informed by one of them, Dr. Jelf, that the sermon had been condemned. Whether by the whole court, or by a majority, or on the same grounds, or whether each had different grounds, no one knows.

What follows is hid under a veil of secrecy. We can only know, first, that the sentence of the court was passed upon the sermon without, and prior to, any communication at all with the accused; and secondly, that when, after the court had decided, the judge began to tamper with the condemned, he felt, and still feels, the line of proceeding to be such, that it was safer to leave each man to guess at the truth than to let it be known.

If, as has been hinted, this strict silence was for the sake of the peace of the Church, Dr. Wynter has earned a sort of title to confessorship with his party; for certainly, that secrecy has placed him, we believe, in a position as unen-

viable as was ever occupied by a judge who bore the Christian name. All we can know is, that after condemnation of the sermon, the writer (known to be labouring under very serious illness) was tampered with by his judges. Papers were then shown to him which he was not allowed to see until he had been bound by promise to conceal from every one both their contents, and even the fact that any communication had been made to him; and, above all, to consult no friend upon the subject—it being the avowed resolution of the Vice-Chancellor to suspend him at once, without any communication at all, unless he first bound himself, by solemn promise, to consult no one, and to keep secret from all men both the nature of the communication to him, and the fact that any had been made!

After this process had gone on awhile without result, (for we can only guess that Dr. Pusey proved to be of less pliant mould than was anticipated,) the following sentence was sent to him:—

“Junii 2^o, 1843. Cum Edvardus Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. *Ædis Christi Canonicus*, necnon *Linguae Hebraicæ Professor Regius*, in concione intra Universitatem Maii 14^{to} proxime elapso habita, quædam Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ dissona et contraria protulisse delatus fuerit; Idemque Edvardus Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. postulante Vice-Cancellario concionis suæ verum exemplar eisdem terminis conscriptum virtute iuramenti tradiderit: Mihi igitur Vice-Cancellario verbis quæ in quæstionem vocabantur in medium prolatis et rite perpensis, adhibito consilio sex aliorum Sanctæ Theologiæ Doctorum, scilicet D. Doctoris Jenkyns, D. Doctoris Hawkins, D. Doctoris Symons, D. Doctoris Jelf, D. Doctoris Ogilvie, nec non et Prælectoris Domine Margaretæ Comitiessæ de Richmond, criminis objecti dictum Edvardum Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. reum inventum, a munere prædicandi intra præcinctum Universitatis per duos annos suspendere placuit.

“P. Wynter, Vice-Cancellarius,

“Philippus Bliss, Registrarius, Univ. Oxon.”

Against this sentence Dr. Pusey protested as follows:—

PROTEST.

“MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR.—You will be assured that the following Protest, which I feel it my duty to the Church to deliver, is written with entire respect for your office, and without any imputation on yourself individually.

“I have stated to you on different occasions, as opportunity offered, that I was at a loss to conceive what in my sermon could be construed into discordance with the formularies of our Church; I have requested you to adopt that alternative in the Statutes which allows the accused a hearing; I have again and again requested that the definite propositions which were thought to be at variance with our formularies should, according to the alternative of the Statute, be proposed to me

I have declared repeatedly, my entire assent, *ex animo*, to all the doctrinal statements of our Church on this subject, and have, as far as I had opportunity, declared my sincere and entire consent to them individually; I have ground to think, that as no propositions out of my sermon have been exhibited to me as at variance with the doctrine of our Church, so neither can they; but that I have been condemned either on a mistaken construction of my words, founded upon the doctrinal opinions of my judges, or on grounds distinct from the formularies of our Church.

"Under these circumstances, since the Statute manifestly contemplates certain grave and definite instances of contrariety and discordance from the formularies of our Church, I feel it my duty to protest against the late sentence against me, as unstatutable, as well as unjust. I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, your humble servant,

"E. B. PUSEY."

"*Christ Church, June 2, 1843.*"

Upon the publication of this protest, the first public document, or act, in the whole case, the judges (who, be it observed, did not, in any degree, consider themselves bound on their side of the question by any promise of secrecy, similar to that extorted from Dr. Pusey,) began to think that they would stand in a better position with the world, if the fact were made public that communications had been made to Dr. Pusey, after the condemnation of his sermon. Thus much, therefore, was stated by one of the six (the Provost of Oriel College), and stated in a manner which was understood to cast a reflection upon the truth of the facts stated in Dr. Pusey's protest. Being thus released from his promise of secrecy only to the extent which his judges deemed most convenient for their own character, Dr. Pusey published the following letter:—

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—When I drew out my protest, I felt myself bound not to allude to the fact, that, after it was announced to me that my sermon had been condemned, I received confidential communications from yourself. I had been informed, when I received them, that the fact of my having received them, as well as their contents, was strictly confidential, and this injunction to entire silence had not been removed. I felt it, therefore, even my duty to ascertain that there was nothing in my protest which could trench upon that confidence.

"I expressed to yourself privately at the time, my sense of the kindness of *your* intentions personally, in making to me the first of these communications; and of this I was thinking when in my protest I spoke of 'not casting any imputation on yourself individually.'

"To the nature of these communications I can make no allusion, since you saw right to impose silence upon me. It is sufficient to say, that after they were concluded, I received a message from yourself,—'*Dr. Pusey has my full authority for saying that he has had no hearing.*' It ever was and is my full conviction, that had I had the hearing which

(for the sake of the University and the Church) I earnestly asked for, I must have been acquitted.

"These communications, then, in no way affect my protest. I add this explanation, because while I retain my strong conviction that my sentence was both 'unstatutable and unjust,' it is right, since I am now at liberty to do so, to acknowledge the kindness of your own intentions to me individually.—I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, your humble servant,

"E. B. PUSEY."

"*Christ Church, June 6, 1843.*"

The next document in the case, is the following address 'of a very large Majority of the resident members of Convocation:—

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—We, the undersigned members of Convocation, and Bachelors of Civil Law, beg permission respectfully to address you on the subject of the sentence lately pronounced by you on Dr. Pusey: with the request that you will make known to the University the grounds upon which that sentence was passed, that we may know what statements of doctrine it is intended to mark as dissonant from or contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as publicly received."

This request it certainly would have seemed difficult to refuse, the answer was as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—Respecting as I do the motives of those who have signed the paper conveyed to me by you, and ready as I am at all times to satisfy the reasonable demand of members of Convocation, I regret that I cannot in the present instance comply with their request. It is my plain duty as Vice-Chancellor to abide by the statutes of the University, and as these do not prescribe, so I have scarcely a doubt they do not permit, the course which is now suggested to me. For the silence of the statutes on this point, satisfactory reasons may be presumed—reasons which are not applicable to me alone, but to yourselves individually, and to the University at large.

"I beg to subscribe myself, &c.

"The Rev. H. Wall, E. P. Eden, E. Hill, &c."

A correspondence* followed between Dr. Wynter and E. Badeley, Esq., Barrister of the Temple, and Master of Arts of Brazennose College, who writes to inform him, that he is entrusted with an address 'from more than 230 non-resident members of Convocation, respecting the proceedings lately adopted against the Rev. Dr. Pusey, and begs to know when it will be convenient to him to receive it.'

The Vice-Chancellor replies, that he will receive Mr. Badeley, or any other gentleman, but does not promise to receive the address, not knowing its contents. Mr. Badeley then sends a

* 'Times,' August, 19, 1843.

copy of the address, and asks whether he will receive it? and whether, if so, it may be sent by post?

Dr. Wynter replies:—

“St. John's College, Oxford, August 1, 1843.

“SIR,—I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday's date, with a copy of the address, which you inform me has been intrusted to your care in order to its being presented to me.

“After the address shall have reached my hands, I shall be enabled to tell you whether I will receive it or not.

“I should not wish to put you to the trouble of coming down to Oxford, if transmitting the address by the post would answer your purpose. I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

“P. WYNTER, V.C.”

“E. Badeley, Esq.”

Mr. Badeley sends the address, with a request that, if refused, he may be informed of the reasons of the refusal, that he may communicate them to the gentlemen who signed it.

The address is as follows:—

“*To the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

“We, the undersigned non-resident members of Convocation, beg leave respectfully to express our serious regret at the course which you have adopted with reference to Dr. Pusey's sermon.

“We deprecate that construction of the statute under which Dr. Pusey has been condemned; which, contrary to the general principles of justice, subjects a person to penalties without affording him the means of explanation or defence; and we think that the interests of the Church and of the University require, that when a sermon is adjudged unsound, the points in which its unsoundness consists should be distinctly stated, if the condemnation of it is intended to operate either as a caution to other preachers, or as a check to the reception of doctrines supposed to be erroneous.

(Signed)

“DUNGANNON, M.A., Christ Church.

“COURTENAY, B.C.L., All Souls, M.P.

“W. E. GLADSTONE, Christ Church.

“JOHN TAYLOR COLERIDGE, M.A., Exeter.”

Dr. Wynter's reply, together with the address itself, reached Mr. Badeley, at the Temple, not by the post, but by the hands of the University bedel, who was sent to London for this purpose; it was thus worded:—

“St. John's College, Oxford, August 4, 1843.

“SIR,—The address, which, as you inform me, you were commissioned to present to me, reached me by yesterday's post; I return it to you by the hands of my bedel.

“When a document of a similar nature, upon the same subject, was some time since presented to me, I was induced, from respect for the presumed motives of those who signed it, not only to receive it, but to

state the ground on which I felt myself precluded from complying with the request which it contained. But the paper which you have transmitted to me, presents itself to me under very different circumstances, and demands from me a different course of procedure.

"In whatever point of view I feel myself at liberty to regard it, whether as addressed to me in my individual or my official capacity, it is deserving of the strongest censure.

"In the former case, it imputes to me, by implication, that in a matter wherein every thoughtful man occupying my position would most deeply feel its painful responsibilities, I have acted without due deliberation, and am capable of being influenced by many to concede that which I have already denied to a few. Assuming it to be addressed to me in my public capacity, a graver character attaches to it. If it be not altogether nugatory, then is it an unbecoming and unstatutable attempt to overawe the Resident Governor of the University in the execution of his office.

"In either case, I refuse to receive it; and I hold it to be my duty to admonish those who may have hastily signed it, while I warn others who may have been active in promoting it, to have a more careful regard to the oaths by which they bound themselves upon admission to their several degrees; this act of theirs having a direct tendency to foment, if not create, divisions in the University, to disturb its peace, and interfere with its orderly government.

"I am, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,

"P. WYNTER, V.C."

"E. Badeley, Esq., M.A."

We have felt it our duty to put on record the facts and documents of this case, as far as they can be known. Only one fact remains to be mentioned—the communications between Dr. Wynter and Dr. Pusey had been carried on, by the latter, in a spirit so confiding, that he had not retained copies of his notes to the Vice-Chancellor, or of the remarks which Dr. Jelf wrote down at his dictation, when he waited on Dr. Pusey with the mysterious communications of the Vice-Chancellor. Some months afterwards Dr. Pusey wrote to request to see these, as well as some papers which he had sent to the Vice-Chancellor. To which Dr. Wynter replied that 'he regretted that circumstances precluded his compliance 'with this request.'

We do not enlarge here on the singular mistake which led Dr. Wynter to call himself the resident governor of the University, on the censure of 'Mr. Gladstone for perjury, and Mr. Justice Coleridge for riotous insubordination;' or on many other grotesque features of the case. We are writing seriously. The condemnation of the sermon, while a hearing was refused to the preacher; the messages from the judges under a promise of secrecy, while they allowed themselves the liberty of dis-

closure; statements pronounced heterodox, and the Church not informed what those statements are—such is the summary history of Dr. Pusey's suspension. The sentence is, in fact, condemned by its own form and wording. It alludes to specific 'charges—*verba quæ in quæstionem vocabantur*,'—which words 'were they? *In medium prolatis et vite perpensis*,'—publicity and discussion! where are they?—'*reum inventum*'—the '*reus*' is refused admission!

We turn to another act of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship.

Mr. Everett, a Socinian preacher of admitted respectability, in the city of Bristol, following the example of Dr. Priestley, emigrated some years ago to the United States. There, after continuing for some time his old occupation, he abandoned it and betook himself to politics. In this better employment his talents rapidly raised him; and, by a curious coincidence, he was sent back as ambassador to the very native country which he had left as Socinian preacher.

It so chanced that a strong accidental light was thrown, about the period of the events we have been detailing, upon the history of Mr. Everett, by a grotesque notice of him in the well-known book which goes by the name of 'Sam Slick.' Sam is sent as an *attaché* to the United States embassy in London, and describes himself as calling on the ambassador, whom he styles his Excellency Abednego Layman. He says, 'He was a Unitarian preacher once, was Abednego, but he swapt preaching for 'politics, and a good trade he made of it, too,—that's a fact.—' "A great change, says I, Abednego, since you was a preaching 'at Connecticut, and I was a vending of clocks," &c.

This fact being thus notorious, it was announced, that Mr. Everett was one of the persons selected by the Heads of Houses, to receive the highest honour the University can give to a stranger, by being publicly admitted to the degree of Doctor of Laws, in the theatre, at the great assemblage which takes place every summer, immediately before the University breaks up for its long vacation. Few Englishmen, or even Englishwomen, are unacquainted with an Oxford Commemoration—the brilliancy of the scene, the season of the year, the throng of strangers, the gaiety of young and old in Oxford, just released from the harness of term, the solemn pageantry of the procession, the academical dresses worn that day in their fullest splendour and variety, make a whole which can hardly be forgotten. On this public stage Dr. Wynter and the Heads resolved to exhibit, practically, the latitudinarian theories which Dr. Hampden had set forth in heavy volumes, read very painfully by very few.

We must mention, that a custom has prevailed, more or less, for many years among the undergraduates, (who occupy a gallery, set apart for them on this occasion,) of expressing, by applause and groans, their feelings upon the academical authorities, the public men of the day, and anything else which happens to come into their heads. On Wednesday, June 28, 1843, it was generally known that they had resolved to carry this licence to an extreme, and interrupt the regular proceedings of the day, in order to signify their dislike of one of the Proctors. This might, of course, have been easily guarded against, had measures been taken for the purpose, but taken they were not.

To return to the case of Mr. Everett. Several members of Convocation waited upon the Vice-Chancellor, upon two several occasions, with an earnest request that, by withdrawing his name, he would save them the pain of publicly opposing his degree. Precedent was entirely in favour of his acquiescence to this petition. Two instances, at least, are remembered, the last occurring as lately as the installation of the Duke of Wellington into the office of Chancellor. It was then proposed to invest with the honours of the day, among other distinguished foreigners, the Ambassador of France, Prince Talleyrand; and the proposal was abandoned, because many members of Convocation thought it unfit that our festivities should be sullied by honours offered to a renegade Bishop. That which had been suffered to pass unnoticed in the case of the French nation and the most distinguished civilian of the age, could hardly have been thought disrespectful to the United States or to Mr. Everett. However, lest their proceedings should in any way be misunderstood, several members of Convocation called upon him, and explained their intention and their reasons. To the Vice-Chancellor, too, their intentions were most clearly announced. He in turn requested them to be satisfied with this private protest, and not interrupt the unanimity of the theatre by dividing the House. They replied that they felt it a point of duty, and must bring their opposition to a division. So fully did Dr. Wynter understand this, that he informed several of his own party that Mr. Everett's degree would be opposed, and requested them to be prepared for the vote. The procession entered the theatre as usual, and was greeted with unusual uproar by the young occupants of the gallery. This had been foreseen. Whether the omission of precautions against it was connected with what followed cannot of course be known. It was certainly a remarkable omission, and as certainly it enabled the Vice-Chancellor (whose duty it was to have prevented any indecency upon such an occasion, and who showed this year that he did not want power to fulfil that duty,) to commit a far more

serious breach of law, upon which he could hardly otherwise have ventured. The custom is, that, after taking his seat, the Vice-Chancellor puts the question in Latin, first to the Doctors and then to the Masters, with regard to each candidate for a degree separately. This is of course in ordinary cases met by a unanimous assent, and when the House has voted all the degrees, the candidates are introduced, conducted up the centre of the area through the crowd which occupies it, and stationed in front of the Vice-Chancellor, to whom each one is separately presented with a Latin oration by the Professor of Civil Law; after which the Vice-Chancellor, addressing the candidate, says, 'Ego auctoritate mea et totius Universitatis admitto te ad gradum Doctoris in Jure civili, Honoris causâ.' A bar is then opened which separates the seats of the Doctors from the area belonging to the Masters, and the new Doctor having made his reverence, walks up and takes his seat. Such is the routine in unopposed degrees. With regard to an opposed degree, as this is the first instance in which a Vice-Chancellor has refused to attend to the expressed wish of the Masters, and has pushed the affair to a division, we can only speak from the analogy of other disputed proposals in Convocation. If any Doctor or Master replies 'non placet' to the first question, the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor asks whether a scrutiny be demanded; and if demanded by any individual, the scrutiny takes place as a matter of course. The result is decided by the majority of voices.

There is absolutely no instance on record, of any Vice-Chancellor venturing upon so daring a measure, as that of refusing to take the votes of the House—of course, if it were legal to do so, his authority would at once be absolute, and the assemblies of the University, as much of a form, as those of the Roman people under the emperors.

In this instance, the Vice-Chancellor put the question to the House when the uproar was at the loudest, and availing himself of that circumstance, went on as if no opposition had been made, although many masters quite close to him vociferated 'non placet,' as he had been informed by themselves that they would, with the utmost power of their voices. He never asked whether a scrutiny was demanded; and when some made their way to him through the crowd and demanded it, although Mr. Everett had not yet been introduced, he disregarded the demand, and conferred upon him on his arrival, the honours of the University, 'by my own authority, and by the authority of the whole University.'

There are of course, two aspects, in which this action must be regarded—in its bearing upon Christian doctrine, and upon the constitution of the University.—Of course, if the act of such a

Vice-Chancellor as Dr. Wynter could be regarded as a precedent for his successor, this cause would amount to an entire annihilation of the University Constitution. It is as if in the state, the Speaker of the Lords or Commons should first suffer the deliberation of the House to be overwhelmed by cries from the gallery (through his own neglect), and then avail himself of that interruption, to pronounce some favourite measure of his own, voted by the House, when he knew that it was the intention of the members to reject it. There are quarters in which the comparison of the Convocation to a House of Parliament may excite a smile—yet even politically, the question is not unimportant; for if Dr. Wynter's precedent had been lawful, there is nothing to prevent any future Vice-Chancellor from returning both the Members of Parliament for the University, 'by his own authority, and that of the whole University,' but against the avowed opposition of every one but himself.—The election is by law vested in the same body—the House of Convocation.

But we confess that, regarding this particular act as too irregular to find supporters, especially as the Masters obtained the opinion of three eminent barristers that 'the degree is a nullity, and that Mr. Everett cannot lawfully assume the rank of Doctor of Civil Law of the University of Oxford,'*—we think the religious bearing of the question the most practical, as it is, of course, infinitely the most important. A distinguished clergyman, the Hon. and Rev. Arthur Perceval, wrote soon afterwards—'It is some consolation to consider, that both the attempt to degrade one who is conspicuous for his zealous exertions in defence of that truth for which the Lord of Glory bled, and the attempt to confer honour upon another, who is reported to maintain and to have taught that doctrine, which St. John declares to be the mark of antichrist, and which the Church, in all ages, has condemned as blasphemy; that both these attempts, which have been exhibited in the chief seat of learning of this nation, have been the work of one and the same individual, for whose conduct the Church is in no degree, and the University only indirectly, responsible.'

But we must turn to another series of events which began before those which we have lately been detailing, but which we have postponed in our narrative because they carry us on to the very close of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship. In June, 1842, while the agitation excited by the Heads of Houses in their attempt to repeal the censure upon Dr. Hampden was at the hottest, it became necessary for the Rev. R. G. Macmullen,

* The opinion at length was published in the 'Times' of Dec. 11, 1843.

Fellow of Corpus Christi College, to proceed in due course to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. We must again beg any Oxonian, who may honour us by a perusal, to excuse our giving some explanation for the benefit of others. The Divinity degrees granted by the University are those of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity, commonly written B.D. and D.D., or S.T.B. and S.T.P. respectively. All that has ever been required to the attainment of these titles is, that the candidate should have taken his degrees in Arts—first Bachelor and then Master—B.A. and M.A. (which of late years implies a general examination) that he should have received Holy Orders, have resided certain years in the study of theology, and have performed certain exercises—of these requirements some, (which required residence, &c.) have been habitually dispensed with, and in practice the degree has been granted to all clerical M.A.'s who possessed the requisite standing, paid the fees, and performed the exercises. These last were a relic of the ancient scholastic system, once common to Oxford, with every other University. The candidate for degrees (whether in Divinity or any other faculty) was to hold public discussions in Latin in the schools. Twice he was required to act the opponent to some other candidate, whose duty it was to defend an appointed thesis,—once to be prepared to answer the objections of opponents who impugned his own. Mere intellectual tournaments, we need hardly say, were, in their day, the exercise of the keenest intellects of Europe; and their influence upon the minds of men and the whole literature of ages, was as great as that of chivalry and its encounters upon their civil and military habits. But times are changed; and if the times of chivalry are gone by, not less so the days of scholastic disputations. Still, however, the statute remained unaltered, and still the candidates for degrees ascended the opposite pulpits, and the Moderator took his seat elevated above them, and in such Latin as they could compose or purchase did they discuss to empty benches the proposed theories.

All this being, however, somewhat of a farce, Dr. Burton, the universally beloved Professor of peaceful days, by his own authority, and without statute, modified the system. Instead of Latin disputations he introduced the custom of the candidate reading an essay in English upon some theological question, and without an opponent. The selection of this question was left to the candidate; and if he was at a loss, it was the custom of the Professor to present to him a considerable list of subjects, out of which to select such as he preferred. When the time came for the reading of the exercises, Dr. Burton (according to the immemorial custom of Divinity Professors) presided,

although he could hardly be said to moderate when there was no longer any disputation.

The practice thus adopted by Dr. Burton, was continued from 1836 to 1842, by his successor, Dr. Hampden, and thus had the authority (such as it is) of ten years' practice against law; and many years more it might have continued, until its origin had been forgotten, if Dr. Hampden had not conceived the project of employing it as a test, which would enable him to prevent any person distasteful to him from proceeding to degrees in Divinity. Let no man think the object in itself a small one; not to mention that certain privileges in the University belong to these degrees. The statutes of a considerable number of colleges absolutely require every fellow to proceed to them, on pain of forfeiting his fellowship, and with it his present maintenance—his ultimate succession to a benefice—in a word, his prospects for life. It was evident, then, that if Dr. Hampden could carry his point, one-half of the University would be in his power: he might boldly demand the repeal of the censures against him, or indeed upon anything else. Still the attempt was so erroneously, so incredibly bold, that (great as was the prize) we cannot believe that he would have ventured it in cold blood. Those, however, who heard the lecture delivered by the Professor in the school of theology, on June 1, 1842, would be inclined, we believe, to think his state anything but one of cool blood. The same impression, we understand, was conveyed, both by his conduct and correspondence during the struggle of 1836, not to mention the letters published by him, and entitled, 'Correspondence between Dr. Hampden and Dr. Howley.' However this may be, the attempt was made. To estimate its boldness we must not merely consider the difficulty of establishing a new test in the present day, in a Church so divided as ours unhappily is, and which has always allowed so great variety of opinion on many religious subjects;—we must add, that Dr. Hampden had, publishing in print and from the pulpit, opposed all tests as such: that, in this particular point, among others, he still professed not to have changed his mind. His object was not to revive any antiquated test of doctrinal soundness; not to enforce any obsolete statute; but to establish a wholly new test in a case where confessedly there had never before been any such thing at any period however remote, and where moreover he had no statute at all on his side. Again, a man may often put his own interpretation upon immemorial customs, and defy the world to prove that such may not have been their original intention; but the custom which Dr. Hampden hoped to convert into a test, was but of ten years' standing, and was simply

illegal from the commencement. For it must be carefully borne in mind, that it was upon Dr. Burton's new and unstatutable custom alone, that the attempt was founded. And Dr. Hampden, moreover, could only establish as his test, agreement in his own theological opinions,—namely, in those which had been already three several times, solemnly condemned by the whole University; and which had raised so great a thrill of indignation through the whole Church, that the clergy from remote parts of England, had come forward to thank the committee in the University, which had procured their condemnation.

The means adopted by the Professor, were as follow:—When Mr. Macmullen called upon him to request subjects on which to write according to custom, and (as he erroneously believed) to statute, he was not surprised to be received coldly, and kept standing; but he was surprised that, instead of settling the matter at once, the Professor told him he would send him subjects on which to write, before he left Oxford. This not being done, Mr. Macmullen renewed his application, which produced the following letter.

“ Ch. Ch. June 11, 1842.

“ The Regius Professor of Divinity, encloses these subjects to Mr. Macmullen, for the Divinity exercises, agreeably to his request. The Professor will thank Mr. Macmullen, to give him a week's notice of the days when he wishes to read his exercises. *He should also mention, that he expects to have copies of the exercises, delivered to him after the reading of them.*

“ 1. The Church of England does not teach, nor can it be proved from Scripture, that any change takes place in the elements at consecration in the Lord's Supper.

“ 2. It is a mode of expression calculated to give erroneous views of Divine Revelation, to speak of Scripture and Catholic Tradition, as joint authorities in the matter of Christian Doctrine.

“ REV. R. G. MACMULLEN, C.C.C.”

We must observe that the requirement of the copy of the exercises was wholly unprecedented.

To proceed with our narrative, Mr. Macmullen finding it impossible to take the view required by the Professor, of Theses purposely worded so as to entrap him, requests to be allowed to write on those clauses of the Thirty-nine Articles, which relate to the same subject,—namely, that on Transubstantiation in the Twenty-eighth, and that on the authority of Holy Scripture in the Eighth. It seemed impossible that a proposal so reasonable should be rejected, by a Professor who had allowed other candidates to select their own subjects;—but Dr. Hampden drew a subtle distinction between this, and Mr. Macmullen's case; because, as the latter had requested subjects from the Professor,

he was bound to write on them,—though why so bound, he did not think fit to explain. Mr. Macmullen now examined the statute, and finding there no admission of the Professor's claim to select the subjects, renewed his endeavours. The correspondence lasted for three months; at the end of which, the Professor intimates for the first time, that 'he by no means prescribed to Mr. Macmullen, the view which he was to take of the Theses, or restrict the line of his argument. He merely states, in each case, the proposition on which the disputation is to turn.'

Mr. Macmullen now wrote a statement of the facts to the Vice-Chancellor, requesting him 'either personally, or in conjunction with the Board of Heads of Houses, or with any other body, to whom may be intrusted the decision of such questions,' to advise him how he ought to proceed. The Vice-Chancellor replies very kindly, that the Board did not feel justified in coming to any decision, and therefore advises personally, that Mr. Macmullen should 'fulfil the previous conditions required by the Divinity statute, in regard to subjects for exercise,—i. e. those conditions which had of late years been neglected; for he adds, 'It may be as well to remind you, that your notices should be in Latin'—which had not been practised since the Latin disputations had been discontinued. Mr. Macmullen follows the advice of the Vice-Chancellor, and proceeds with the required forms. The Professor refuses to preside at the disputation, assigning as his reason, that Mr. Macmullen has not fulfilled the letter of the statute, but declining to say wherein the defect is. He drops the following important words:—

"As Mr. Macmullen resorts to the letter of the statutes, not simply for the maintenance of the statutes, but for the purpose of avoiding particular theses, which, he avows, are distasteful to him, (though the Professor cannot understand how the given theses can be distasteful to any minister of the Church of England), it becomes the obvious duty of the Professor to see, for his part, that the appeal to the statutes be not used for the same purpose, but that it be a real appeal, and strictly followed out."—P. 20.

That is, the Professor impedes Mr. Macmullen's degree, because he objects to subjects which the Professor deems unobjectionable to any clergyman. The test, then, after all, is, as we have already seen, agreement with the Professor's views,—that is, with views denounced by the whole University, and the mass of the clergy.

However, preside the Professor will not, and what is to be done? Mr. Macmullen proceeded with the formal notices requisite before disputations; but the Vice-Chancellor now

interferes, although still in the most friendly manner, and will not allow the disputation, which he had himself suggested, to take place, except under the Professor, as moderator. Even in doing this, however, he reminds the candidate that the formal steps already taken will be very useful, should he at length be forced into a court of law, which, however, the Vice-Chancellor does not at present wish to recommend. The unfortunate candidate next applies for advice to the Heads of Houses, who answer almost in the words of Dr. Hampden (himself one of their Board) that, having applied for questions, he ought to write on them; although without explaining how this resolution is to be reconciled with the statutes which it is the business of the Board to see not set aside.

Mr. Macmullen then commenced the action which the Vice-chancellor had not obscurely suggested, and the object of which was to compel the Professor to preside. The assessor, a sound lawyer, determines that he is bound to preside; but Dr. Hampden appeals to the delegates,—a set of very respectable clergymen, who reverse, with costs, the sentence of the lawyer, on being told by Dr. Hampden's counsel that the presence of the Professor was not necessary. Mr. Macmullen having now burnt his fingers with law, makes one more attempt to prevail on the Vice-Chancellor to allow the disputation to take place, without the Professor, in accordance with the doctrine of Dr. Hampden as counsel. This, however, was still refused by the Vice-Chancellor, while the Professor is equally resolved, delicately, never to preside, unless his subjects are taken. Thus tenderly was the new test tendered to poor Mr. Macmullen, his kind friend the Vice-Chancellor refusing to allow his exercises to take place without the Professor's presence, and the Professor refusing to preside, because that presence was not necessary to the performance of the exercises.

While Mr. Macmullen was in this unenviable dilemma, reports were spread through Oxford that the Heads of Houses were about to propose a legislative measure on the subject of divinity degrees. Mr. Macmullen then stays all further proceedings, and waits to avail himself of the promised redress. Then, as before, the Board came forward; and, as the publication of Dr. Hampden's 'Bampton Lectures,' and 'Observations on Religious Dissent with a View to the Use of Tests in the University,' had been followed by their proposal to dispense with subscription; so now his attempt on Mr. Macmullen they rewarded by a statute which (had it passed) would have gone far to give him the legal authority to exercise upon every other candidate for degrees the same power which he had practised illegally upon one.

The proposed statute was announced to the University in February, 1844. One most important effect it would have produced; and that by a claim so incidental and unobtrusive that its meaning was for some time actually unnoticed by many careful readers. It rendered compulsory upon all candidates for degrees in Theology, the hitherto voluntary examination of 1842. Thus it of course armed three examiners, over whose appointment, as we have seen, the University has no control, with the power of entirely barring any individual's access to his degree, and in many cases endangering his fellowship. It rendered an additional year of residence necessary to the obtaining a B.D. degree, but moreover it practically changed this theological examination from an honour, which it was when it was voluntary, into a doctrinal test, which it would immediately become when every candidate for a B. D. degree was obliged to pass it. So objectionable did this clause appear upon consideration, that men thought the rest of the statute would have been superfluous for Dr. Hampden's purpose had this been carried. It would of itself have changed the character of the University.

However, as this would but have given most dangerous powers, not to the Regius Professor personally, but to the Board of Theological Professors; and, moreover, as some might pass this ordeal a year after taking their degree, in Arts, whom it might be an object to test at a later period; another net was to be spread at the conclusion as this was at the commencement of the seven years which elapse between the degrees of M.A. and B.D., and the strings of this net were placed in the sole hands of Dr. Hampden. It required the copy of the candidates' essays to be delivered to the Professor for his private perusal; and it provided, that if any dispute arose (leaving the expressions so vague as to exclude every question of doctrine as well as the form of exercises and the like) it should be referred, not to the Courts of the University, but to the private and individual determination of the Vice-Chancellor, which determination was to be final.

The effect of all this, of course, would have been to change the exercise into a doctrinal test, and to take away from the University the power which it had ever possessed of granting or refusing divinity degrees; transferring the entire and irresponsible control over them, and through them, over half the fellowships in Oxford, to the Professor and the Vice-Chancellor. The former being selected by the Prime Minister, who may be a Socinian or a professed infidel, and whose nominee may, like Dr. Hampden himself, be appointed in open defiance of the expressed judgment of the University and of the whole Church;

and the latter, or Head of a House, taken in rotation, and if it so chance, a layman. Above all, these powers were proposed to be given to these functionaries, when one office was held by Dr. Wynter, and the other by Dr. Hampden!

We need not say that the whole proposal was received with astonishment by the University and the whole Church. There had been enough of secret conclaves, accusations, courts, accusers, judges, accused refused admittance or hearing; sentences, without arraignment, trial, defence. 'The resident governor of the University,'—would have had the statutable right now of sitting in his own drawing-room and ejecting from his degrees one member of the University after another—all with the utmost kindness and tenderness, without public discussion, or any of those inconvenient forms which the common consent of men has established. This is indeed already a recognized theory of the constitution of the University, though one not yet realized. Let our readers observe the following passage from the demi-official gazettes of the Board, the '*Morning Herald*,' and '*Standard*' of September 26, 1844:—

"The grand fallacy of the Tractarians consists in this—that they choose, because it answers their purpose, to argue as if the University were a democracy; and as if nothing could lawfully be done in it without a debate and a taking of votes. Now the real fact is, that the University more resembles, on a large scale, a School; in which, as every one knows, there must be an arbitrary Governor. Nobody is *forced* to go to the University—youths are sent there by their parents, and with their own assent; but both the parents and the young men know full well, that they are consenting to submit to an arbitrary dominion for a limited time, and for an especial purpose.

"Dr. Pusey, it is true, was not a young man. But our observation was, that the general system of the University is that of absolute sway, not of a democracy, or a place where all things are to be discussed and put to the vote."

We need not tell our readers that the proposed statute obtained actually no support at all. We at least have never heard of any member of Convocation who approved it. It was therefore very soon announced that the proposal was referred back to the Board for reconsideration.

And now to return to Mr. Macmullen, whose case was to be set at rest by this statute; he was of course left where he was—pent up between Dr. Hampden and the Vice-Chancellor. The amended statute, of course, was to set all right; but he could wait no longer, for the time was come when he must graduate or lose his fellowship. Having therefore made one more vain appeal to the Vice-Chancellor, he was forced 'to accept, under protest, the original theses which the Regius Professor

had imposed.' He wrote accordingly, and read his exercises in the school on Thursday 18th, and Friday 19th of April, 1844. 'After the reading of the first exercise, the Professor pronounced 'the words, "Non sufficit pro formâ,"—words which no one had ever heard before, and which certainly do not carry their own meaning with them, but which, under the circumstances of time and place, and yet more of person, were understood to mean, that he did not admit the exercise as qualifying Mr. Macmullen for his degree.

We have no room to discuss the doctrinal merits of the exercise which had the ill-fortune to displease Dr. Hampden. It is published, however, and there is one remark which we think every one who has read it will admit to be true,—we mean, that if Mr. Macmullen maintained the negative side of Dr. Hampden's thesis at all, he could not have done it in a manner more moderate, or with more care to guard against misconception of his meaning. This we think will be admitted even by those who think that the thesis cannot safely be denied at all; although Mr. Macmullen shows that it is denied by the Fathers, the chief divines of the modern Church of England, and by plain inference by the Prayer-book:—it remains then that the exercise was rejected merely because it denied, instead of affirming, the thesis; and that, although we have seen the Professor had volunteered the statement, that 'he by no means 'prescribes to Mr. Macmullen the view which he is to take of 'the thesis, or restricts his line of argument.' By no means,—only he impedes his degree, if that view is not the same as his own!

This may be deemed exceedingly clever management in the secret conclaves of the Hebdomadal Board. How the world, and men of the world, commonly estimate such proceedings, we need not say. We admit that their opinion is no safe standard for divines, or even for Christians. Yet we think their conduct should not sink below, but rise above it. Upon these proceedings the 'Times' says,—

"We have simply to remark, that impertinent as are unauthorized tests, and extremely impertinent and glaringly ridiculous as are such tests from a formally condemned latitudinarian—there is another thing to which we have even a stronger objection, and that is, to dishonesty."

Meanwhile the statute comes out again from the hands of the Board slightly amended, in deference to the unanimous opinion of the University. Dr. Hampden's usurpations were not sanctioned in the mass, for the copy of the exercise was no longer to be given in to the Regius Professor; and with regard to the power of forcing subjects upon the candidates, and the appeal from the Professor to the Vice-Chancellor, verbal changes were made, which, if the University had believed

them to be concessions *bonâ fide*, might, in some degree, have changed the character of the statute; but the words now proposed would throw the whole into the hands of the Professor and the Vice-Chancellor, if interpreted with far less violence than had been already exercised upon the celebrated Six Doctor Statute, when an instrument of oppression against Dr. Pusey was needed: and it was universally believed that these seeming concessions were only intended to get the measure through the House; when once past, the University (in its turn) had 'scarcely a doubt' how the Vice-Chancellor would interpret it.

In Oxford, therefore, and throughout the country, there was really but one feeling about the statute, and yet this general feeling was curiously mixed. Every one whom we saw or heard of rejected it with indignation—every one seemed convinced that the pretended alterations were but illusory, and that it was really, in its meaning and effect, the same as ever; yet this common feeling turned itself (as it was natural) in different minds towards several parts of the measure. All were indignant; but one was felt most, the pretended alteration devised to remove the edge of opposition, where there was no real change. Another (and this was stated to be the feeling of the venerable President of Magdalen College, the representative in Oxford of the ancient theology) felt strongly the attempt of the Board, now a second time repeated, to remove indirectly the censure upon Dr. Hampden, which they had in vain openly assailed. Another was most keen in deprecating the statute, because he felt sure that it was calculated and intended to remove the real power out of the hands of the University into those of the Hebdomadal Board and the Vice-Chancellor. Another, because he knew well the way in which whatever power was obtained, would be employed. With feelings like these, the clergy came to Oxford. Daily prayers were intermitted in perhaps half the churches where they are offered—men who can ill bear travelling expenses, came from Northumberland and Cornwall. But (what was almost the most remarkable feature of this assemblage) men came to deliver their own souls, without knowing, or professing to know, which way the majority would be. And when they came together they asked, 'Where are our opponents?' For then it appeared, that of all the Oxford graduates in England, the measure of the Heads could obtain the support of only twenty-one, that is, only eight more than a bare majority of their own Board. Of this number several had been brought up from the country for the purpose; while those who passed the vote of no confidence and censure upon the Board, its measures, and its 'Resident Governor,' were 341, about 16 to 1. Men felt that it was no measure of University detail; it was a condemnation of the Hebdomadal

Board's censure on Mr. Newman; the condemnation of Dr. Pusey without trial; the attempted repeal of the Hampden censure; the theological statute; the treatment of Mr. Macmullen; the degree of Mr. Everett; the systematic exclusion of genius, devotion, and learning from the offices of the University;—things written upon our hearts; things which we can never forget till we cease to be ourselves. These were they which thronged the Convocation House that day.

Neither had men any cause to go far back in order to justify these feelings. Convocation met at noon. In congregation, at 10 the same morning, Mr. Macmullen's degree had been refused. We left this gentleman when the Professor had spoken the enigmatical words which were supposed to mean that he rejected the exercise. As, however, the Professor was believed by those who knew the statutes to have no right of refusal beyond that which belongs to every member of the Houses, this did not prevent his proceeding. Proceed indeed he must, and having performed his exercises, although not statutely, which the Vice-Chancellor refused to allow, yet according to the custom of the University for several years past, he was now by that custom qualified to receive it. The degree is conferred by the House of Convocation; but before it reaches this step, a Grace, as it is called, *i. e.* a permission, must pass the House of Congregation. The passing of these graces is the chief practical business of this House; and while all other questions submitted to either House are decided by the vote of the majority, the manner of granting these graces is regulated by a peculiar statute. The vote is secret, and every member of the House may stop any grace without making public his name or assigning his reason. But when this has been done at three several meetings of the House, it cannot be a fourth time repeated. The objector must then assign the reasons of his refusal, and these are judged of by the House, which grants or refuses the grace at its discretion. The Vice-Chancellor singly, or the two Proctors jointly, having, as we before mentioned, a veto on all business in either House, Dr. Hampden then, as a member of Congregation, had an unquestioned right to refuse Mr. Macmullen's grace three times without giving a reason. And when men heard on the morning of the 2d of May that it had been that day refused, they took for granted that it was his act. This, however, time would of course show; for Mr. Macmullen could not but repeat his application, and after the third time, the name and reasons of the objector must be made public. Meanwhile it was felt that if at ten o'clock Mr. Macmullen received the censure of Dr. Hampden or his unknown supporter, Dr. Hampden and his supporters received a censure of the University at noon.

Mr. Macmullen's grace was a second time presented to Con-

gregation, and a second time refused in silence and mystery. A third time the same scene was enacted, and men were expecting the fourth, when lo! on the 20th of May, the Heads of Houses assembled, and, as if laboriously and studiously to stultify themselves, passed a unanimous resolution, 'That the Vice-Chancellor should direct the Regius Professor of Divinity to recur to 'the legitimate statutable exercises of the B.D. degree.' This very Board had been repeatedly consulted by Mr. Macmullen when his degree and his fellowship were in jeopardy, through no fault or omission of his own, but solely because the Professor refused to allow him to fulfil the statute, both when he earnestly entreated to be allowed to do so as a favour, and when afterwards he sought it by law as a right! The dignitaries of the University—the resident Governor, the pro-resident Governor (our readers will excuse us if we coin new words to express unheard-of claims)—put off Mr. Macmullen with the cool resolution, 'that having applied to the Professor for subjects, he ought to write upon them;' and then having driven this innocent victim into the toils of his persecutor, they turn round—as if to assure the world that they have done what they did, not from any ignorance of the statutes, nor from any love of the existing system, but from pure, simple delight in persecution—and pass a resolution that the whole system on which they compelled him to act was, from the beginning, illegitimate and unstatutable, and that what he was begging as a favour, and what they refused, was plainly enjoined upon one and the other by the statutes to which both had sworn obedience! Their only excuse is, that a measure had lately been contemplated for putting the exercises on a new footing; as if that could form any excuse for maintaining, even for a day, a system illegal in itself, and actually abused for the purpose of unjust oppression. Yet, even this excuse could hardly apply to the past period when Mr. Macmullen asked their advice, two years ago.

Thus, then, the whole of Dr. Hampden's test scheme ended for the present in the restoration of the old disputations; the very idea of which, as we have shown, precludes their being so employed; and the weariness that the Professor may, at times, feel stealing over him as he listens to long hours of theological Latin from one candidate after another, must, we fear, be regarded as no more than a just penance for the boldness of his attempt.

But we must return to Mr. Macmullen; a few days after the unanimous resolution of the Heads, which acknowledged the total illegality of the whole system employed for his oppression, his grace was a fourth time sought, when it appeared that the obstacle proceeded, not from Dr. Hampden, but from the Vice-Chancellor—the same functionary by whom his most important steps had been recommended; who, by assisting him with advice

after he had refused the theses, had shown his opinion that a man might differ on those subjects, even from so great an authority as Dr. Hampden, without forfeiting his claim to be considered a sound member of the English Church. The same, too, who had refused to allow him to perform his exercise in the way which he himself had now admitted to be alone legitimate and statutory, and which, as such, he was actually enforcing upon the Regius Professor.

It is stated in the newspapers of the period, that Dr. Wynter's reason was, that he could not tell officially that Mr. Macmullen's exercises had been performed; as his grace was not supplicated by the Regius Professor, but by the authorities of his college. In the newspaper, we repeat,—and if it be asked what was the reason alleged to congregation on the fourth refusal according to statute? the answer unfolds a proceeding highly characteristic of Dr. Wynter. On the fourth occasion he did not, as before, object as a member of the House; because he must, in that case, have assigned his reason. He therefore interposed his official veto, as Vice-Chancellor, upon the grace, which he could do without explanation. The statutes having provided that every member may reject a grace secretly for three times, on condition of avowing his reason on the fourth; and that the Vice-Chancellor may reject without reason, on condition of avowing his act from the first. Dr. Wynter lays aside the Vice-Chancellor's prerogative, and avails himself of the former privilege as long as it gives him the power of striking altogether in the dark; and when called upon to fulfil the condition upon which that power is given, he shifts his ground, and acts in his other capacity, which enables him to conceal his reason, though not any longer his person. Common fairness, we suppose, requires that he should make his election at once in which character he would act, and give to the candidate whom he rejected, the full advantages allowed him in either case by the statute.

Whether the history of the University affords any other example of veto interposed by a Vice-Chancellor, we are not aware. The calendar published every year by authority, speaks of it as almost as rare as the exercise of the royal veto in parliament.

With respect to Mr. Macmullen's fellowship, it appeared, upon the close examination which legal proceedings required, that it was in the power of his own college by presenting him for his degree to prevent its forfeiture, although the degree might be refused by the authorities of the University. This fact, alike unknown to both parties at the commencement of the struggle, has as yet saved him from the full effects of the persecution of Dr. Hampden and Dr. Wynter; although, not receiving his

degree, he becomes, of necessity, junior to each of the fellows below himself upon the list, as they proceed to it; and thus suffers very serious injury, both in his present position and his succession to a benefice. It is said that the Vice-Chancellor wrote to Mr. Macmullen's college, urging them not to present him for his degree; and intimating that by doing so they would break their oaths to the University, because, forsooth, such a measure would tend to disturb the public peace. If this statement is correct (and we confess we think the caution about the oath bears much internal evidence of truth), the success of the attempt would have cut off the only resource by which it was possible for him to escape the loss of his fellowship, and of his prospects in life.

And now having traced Dr. Wynter's course in office, it remains to mention some circumstances of his retirement from it. Nothing in his life became him like his leaving it; it was all his own. In the usual rotation of university office, it was his lot to be succeeded by Dr. Symons, the Warden of Wadham, at the commencement of the present term. Why the admission of this new functionary was opposed we need not repeat. That he was strongly supported could not be a matter of surprise. Formally, although not virtually, he was nominated by the Duke of Wellington. There was no precedent for refusing to admit a Vice-Chancellor. We need not detail the other reasons which kept from Oxford many of those who usually support the cause of the Church, and divided those who were there against each other. Dr. Wynter however was seriously alarmed, and his method of assisting his friends was this: Having, in his official capacity, the right of appointing the day on which the nomination should be submitted to Convocation, he carefully kept this a secret from all whom he thought likely to inform the opponents of Dr. Symons. The Senior Proctor (the second resident official in Oxford) made a formal request to be informed of it. 'The answer was substantially (and nearly in words) this—that he should feel himself extremely culpable in departing from the custom which had prevailed—that he could give no official information of the day. *And* (not *but*) although 'unofficially he might say that one day, or one of two days,' (not naming either of those days, or the week in which they might occur,) 'is more likely than any other, yet at this distance of time he could not pledge himself to any day.'

The following notice was then circulated and appeared in the newspapers:—

"Oxford, Sept. 23, 1844.

"Members of Convocation are respectfully informed, that the Vice-Chancellor, although requested by the Senior Proctor, has refused to give any information as to the day of the nomination of his successor.

Whether this information will be open to Dr. Symons, Members of Convocation may decide for themselves from the events of the past year. At all events it is to be hoped that they will hold themselves in readiness to come up, on the receipt of a notice of the day, if the discovery of it prove possible; or if not, to show in some other marked way their sense of this fresh act of injustice."

And now it came out, that the committee of Dr. Symons, which met at Wadham, had known several days before this that October 8th was to be the day; for they had written to inform their country supporters of the fact, and, incautiously, had actually sent the same notice to some of whom they thought themselves secure, but who voted on the other side. One at least of these wrote to the newspapers announcing the fact.

The disgrace of this could not well be borne at such a moment; 'it hurt their conscience to be found out.' All men argued, in the words of a paper which appeared in Oxford, 'How did Dr. Symons's party come to the knowledge of the day? It must have been by intuition inducted from former years, or direct information. The first is hardly possible. For the second an uniformity of precedents would be necessary. But there is unhappily no such uniformity; for last year the nomination took place on the 6th Oct. And it may be just stated by the way, that this fixing of the day so early was boasted of by a friend of Dr. Wynter as an artifice to avoid the opposition that was expected. In 1842 the nomination was on the 8th, 1841 and 40 on the 9th, 1839 on the 8th, 1838 on the 9th, 1837 on the 7th. Too much variation here for any induction! The last alternative therefore is inevitable.'

The only remaining chance for the Vice-Chancellor was to show that he had not concealed, from either side, the day he intended to name. The Wadham committee, therefore, the chairman of which is the Head of a House, the secretary a highly respected tutor of Wadham College, threw itself into the breach. Its circular announced that—

"It has been the invariable custom, that the notice of the day on which such nominations will be made, shall not be given before the previous afternoon; and the Vice-Chancellor has declined to change the custom this year by any official declaration. But he has concealed from no one his opinion that Tuesday, the 8th of October, will be the day; and there is no doubt that such will be the case. The customary hour is twelve o'clock."

This statement, it must be observed, directly contradicts that of the Senior Proctor, upon a point on which he could not by possibility be either mistaken, or forgetful,—viz., whether the Vice-Chancellor had concealed from him the day of nomination. Moreover, as it was impossible that the truth of the assertion (that he had never concealed from any one his opinion, that

Tuesday 8th would be the day) could be known to any man living, except Dr. Wynter himself, that assertion must have been made upon his authority. To suppose otherwise, would be to accuse the Wadham Committee of publicly making a statement in direct contradiction of the fact stated, on his own knowledge, by the Senior Proctor, and yet wholly gratuitous. No one who knows Mr. Griffiths can think this possible. Yet, while we see no way of avoiding the conclusion that this assertion was made upon the authority of Dr. Wynter, it is impossible to deny that that conclusion exhibited the University in a novel and unpleasant attitude. For, here were two distinct, positive, statements of fact, published to all the world, one by the Senior Proctor, the other by the Vice-Chancellor, relating to a question upon which it was not easy to conceive either mistake or forgetfulness to exist on either side, and yet directly contradictory to each other. This fact seems to have so deeply impressed Dr. Symons's Committee, that they declared to the world their full conviction that the Proctor, in his letter of Sept. 23, (in which, it will be remembered, he stated that, in answer to his request, the Vice-Chancellor had *refused to give any information* as to the day of nomination,) had not suppressed anything which the Vice-Chancellor had actually told him. Their notice was as follows:—

“COMMITTEE ROOM, WADHAM COLLEGE,
October 8, 1844.

“Whereas we have been informed that the following paragraph in the circular issued from this room on the 26th of September, viz.—

“‘It has been the invariable custom, that the notice of the day, on which such nominations will be made, shall not be given before the previous afternoon; and the Vice-Chancellor has declined to change the custom this year by any *official* declaration. But he has concealed from no one his *opinion* that Tuesday the 8th of October will be the day; and there is no doubt that such will be the case. The customary hour is twelve o'clock.’

has been supposed to charge the Senior Proctor with suppressing some information which had been given him by the Vice-Chancellor.

“We beg to have it understood that we are not aware of any grounds for casting such an imputation upon him, and that no such imputation was intended.

“EDWARD CARDWELL, *Chairman*.
JOHN GRIFFITHS, *Secretary*.”

And here the matter rested, in a condition satisfactory, as it appears, to all parties concerned; and the same day Dr. Wynter resigned his office, in which he declared his pleasure in finding himself relieved of it, and that he forgave his enemies.

The facts which Dr. Wynter's administration appears to us to have developed, are these; that there has been for some time a systematic attempt going on in Oxford to transfer the admi-

nistration of the University from its legal holders, the two Houses, to the Board of Heads, and the Vice-Chancellor; that, in this attempt especially, two powers have been exercised by Dr. Wynter, which were never before claimed by any man; viz. that of condemning those who are obnoxious without a hearing, and that of passing decrees in the name of the whole University, while refusing their votes. Of this last usurpation, we may say, in passing, a second instance was threatened on the very last day of Dr. Wynter's rule. It was confidently denied that the University had the power of disapproving a Vice-Chancellor, a right never before questioned, and acknowledged, as it was observed in the Oxford Calendar, published every year, by authority.

We have now concluded our annals, much to our own satisfaction as well as that of our readers. It is no pleasing task to reckon up acts of injustice—injustice committed with a trembling hand—concealed to the last possible moment—at last detected rather than avowed. It is no pleasure to tell of Englishmen condemned without trial, punished while they are still kept upon honour, under an obligation of secrecy as to the communications which passed between them and their judge. To exhibit authorities usurping power which was never given to them, and yet wholly incompetent to use that which they do possess, the voice of authority, and at the same moment refusing to the members of a supreme assembly the right of voting on their own affairs; one day disallowing those who earnestly request the permission, to fulfil their legal obligations, and then the next day compelling all to fulfil the same obligations; permitting the voice of authority to be drowned by the uproar of pupils, and at the same moment declining to receive the votes of a supreme assembly when met in lawful gathering, for the discharge of its own duty. Neither is it any gratification to tell of numerous acts of unauthorized, undignified, unsustained interference; of the Vice-Chancellor forbidding Mr. Macmullen to publish the correspondence which stands at the head of this article, yet not ensuring obedience to his own command; forbidding the publication of the legal opinion as to Mr. Everett's pretended degree, yet quietly sitting down in the unenviable situation in which its publication left him. Equally painful is it to see ancient authority made ridiculous; to see 'my bedel' pompously bearing to London threatenings against the judges and clergy of England, and the counsellors of Queen Victoria, on the part of one, who, because he had refused to hear the humble and holy man whom he had unjustly condemned, seemed to imagine himself above censure and beyond blame, forgetting that, after all, there are strong things, even here upon earth—justice, and law, and right, the shadows of the Almighty

among men—shame and punishment dogging the guilty, and that God Himself is above all. But chiefly, to find those who sit in the seats of our worthies, and are appointed guardians of our theology, condemning doctrines which they dare not give us the opportunity of defending, and tampering with heresies against which the very object of their office was the maintenance of perpetual war.*

Few considerations are more awful than that of the heavy responsibility which men often bring upon themselves and of which they seem the while all unconscious. The Church of England is just now in a state more critical than she has known for two hundred years. Many who promised much faithful service seem shaken and unsettled; some have left us; who can say that others may not go after them? Many more, there is every reason to fear, will be discouraged by these instances of instability, from turning their thoughts to high and holy things at all. It may be that carelessness or scepticism may be really the danger that is imminently impending upon Oxford; we may even see it in a few months. Can any thoughtful observer think these things unlikely? Now in this state of things God had given us a preacher with soul of fire—whose very daily life is a sermon which the most careless could not put from them—whose voice was likely, above all other human means, to bring home to the hearts of men the solemn truth, that religion is indeed a rule of practice and of life, or it is nothing; that time is short, and judgment is near; and withal, one who is well known to be fixed and firm himself, and, above all things, to

* Nor is it in Oxford alone, nor by Oxford men, that the general administrations of the Heads of Houses are put together as parts of one whole. We can mention one instance amongst thousands. A very exemplary clergyman, a Cambridge incumbent, holds a parish on the eastern coast, which has been miserably demoralized by smuggling. To his great surprise, a young and most estimable Oxonian, a Fellow of a College, who was spending the vacation in his neighbourhood, applied to him to direct him to some smuggler. The vicar, who knew his parish well enough, did not, probably, want power, but he certainly had no will. Upon this, the Oxonian told him, that before he left Oxford, the head of his college sent for him, and said, 'Sir, I believe you are going into the neighbourhood of —?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Well, then, you can do a commission for me. I hear that the smugglers there import particularly good brandy, and I want you to buy a keg for me.' It was really lucky that the clergyman, whom we have introduced to our readers, was a Cambridge man. He, therefore, has nothing to fear; had he been of Oxford, there is great reason to think that his orthodoxy would have been found in fault, for he represented so strongly to the young man the sin of encouraging smuggling, that he returned without the keg. Whether the dignitary was driven to the hard necessity of drinking lawfully imported brandy, or whether he found a less scrupulous agent, we do not know; but we can assure our readers, that our Cambridge friend, whenever he hears of any valiant deed of that zealous head, against the revivers of obsolete error, seems to detect in it a certain smack of smuggled brandy. Highly illogical, no doubt; for the authority would tell him that whether it be right or wrong to deal with smugglers, that is a question which, in the favourite phrase of the day, 'has nothing to do with theology;' but illogical as it may be, the effect upon our friend's mind was such as we have described.

labour in fixing others in dutiful adherence to the English Church. This voice is now silenced: and shall we say by whom?

There are men who, owing to circumstances, produce momentous effects, without possessing any very unusual qualities, either good or ill. May God defend His Church among us, and the venerable institutions which have grown up in her shade; and of these, not the least, our Ancient University. May He shield her from all dangers. But, assuredly, if she is to fall,—if she is to lose her privileges, and be made the slave of some parliamentary commission,—if her independence, her powers of self-government, are to be taken from her, and her time-honoured name disgraced,—we may venture to predict how all this will be accomplished. It will not begin through violence from without, but in evil government within; in an administration oppressive while it is feeble; in a rule which forces the members of the University into resistance, while it invites contempt and aggression from the world around; in one word, in Vice-Chancellors like Dr. Wynter.

But in saying this, we do not forget that there is One above Who can and does bring good out of evil—Whose purposes must stand, and are never nearer to their accomplishment than when they seem baffled: to Him we commend His Church and His servants. For ourselves, one consideration has been continually impressed upon us in the course of our narrative. It is this:—Few, we suppose, have failed to wonder in their earlier years why it is, that in the Psalms, that pure well of devotion for all ages, we find so frequently recurring the exhortation, ‘Fret not thyself:’ ‘Be not grieved at the ungodly;’ and the like. It seemed to us hardly practical; so many other temptations were rather to be guarded against. But as life goes by, and the real state of this world opens to us, how sweetly do these texts fall upon the ear! ‘Put thou thy trust in the Lord, and be doing good:’ ‘Fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to do evil.’ We are, then, but in the circumstances to which we have been taught to look forward, when we see wrong prevail. Let us wait awhile, each in his daily duties. Let us not be moved to wrath; though we find Englishmen content to abandon all that has made the name of England really glorious, so that an obnoxious divine may but be crushed. These sayings would not have been so often repeated, unless it had been appointed for us, in every age, to feel, in one form or other, the peculiar temptations against which they warn us; to be moved to indignation by finding those of whom the world is not worthy, rejected by the world; those who condemn the world, condemned in their turn. Be it ours to be preparing, each one himself, for the day when these things shall be set right.

- Art. VII.—1. *The Oxford University Calendar*. 1844. Oxford: Parker, &c.
2. *Corpus Statutorum, &c.* Oxonii: E Typographeo Academico.
3. *Suggestions on the New Statute proposed to the University of Oxford*. By W. GRESLEY, M.A. *Prebendary of Lichfield*. London: Burns. 1845.
4. *The Subject of Tract XC. Historically Examined: with a Preface on the Measure about to be submitted to the Oxford Convocation*. By FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A. *Fellow of Balliol College*. Second Edition. London: Toovey. 1845.

THOUGHTFUL minds have long since anticipated the quarter of the theological heavens in which the gathering storm of years would break. Without going into a superfluous proof of what the simplest must have felt, there can be little question that, speaking generally, the two great parties in the Church have each their strong position. The symbol of one is, in the main, the Prayer-book; that of the other, the Articles. They represent respectively, and perhaps fairly enough, the Voice of Antiquity and the Spirit of the Reformation: it is a separate question how far, it may be entirely, the two may be found, or made, to harmonize; but on the first glance at them they certainly present a different aspect. Lord Chatham expressed this distinction not accurately, but still with a sufficient approximation to truth for a popular statement, when he talked of our Papistical Book of Prayer and Calvinistical Book of Articles. It is quite certain that the one is not Papistical; and most are convinced that the other is not Calvinistical. But the two great schools who verge towards either extreme have each felt bound to endure one for the love of the other. They are the Leah and Rachel of the English Church. The Prayer-book party are charged with disparaging the Articles: and those who most quote the Articles seem to tread lightly over the Prayer-book argument. On the one side we find a Lutheran bias, a good many sermons, popular preachers, justification by faith, once-a-week Christians, a disparagement of fasting, penitence, gloomy views, and the like, combined with vigorous and frequent appeals to the Thirty-nine Articles—on the other are seen to be ranked “Romanizing” tendencies, daily service, “exaltation of the sacraments,” the word of God esteemed as something higher than “painful preaching,” and all this combined with a very confident grasp of, and a most consistent and uniform polemical reference to, the Prayer-book. In pamphlets, tracts, and magazines, we frequently find them bracketed: but in conversation, in preaching, and in the Christian walk, we can recall no single instance where the one scale or the other did not very soon preponderate.

Indeed, were it necessary, some of the commonest facts prove this bias. How was it that the Dissenting teachers, till lately, received their licence to preach by Act of Parliament, upon doing what? Assenting to the Thirty-nine Articles: *i.e.* they were legally empowered to preach *against* the Church's Prayer-book, under cover of her Articles. Compare too the source of the Articles—the known principles of their framers—and their sympathies with the Foreign Reformed—with the origin of the Prayer-book. That the Articles are the National, and the Prayer-book the Catholic, element of our mixed communion, is enough for the popular feeling.

The historical argument, however, is in favour of the Catholic line: the Prayer-book has hitherto been the ruling and paramount estate in our confused relations. Every change at each successive Conference and Revision has been in its favour. Since the Reformation, the Church has done nothing but rise in matters both of doctrine and practice. It is decisive of our tempers that we have never taken a backward step. According, then, to the law of natural and moral growth in the Church of England, our next step must still be onward. We do not say that the Articles have been held unfaithfully by the great divines of the Church of England; far from it: but somehow they never seem to have thought of expanding the Articles, of adding to them, of developing in that direction. In the Prayer-book we can point to the restoration of the oblation in the Eucharist emanating from the same set of opinions, whose influence obtained the Declaration prefixed in the seventeenth century to the Book of Articles.

In what way, then, have the Articles been received by the Church of England? The Articles are not terms of communion: the Articles are not a confession of faith: they are articles of religion, a body of teaching, akin rather to the Homilies than to the Service Book; and what was their original intention and practical bearing, men of most parties have, as we shall presently see, agreed. The Articles have been subjected to various siftings, both as to their sense and obligation, the value and extent of subscription to them, and their necessity, and this in various ways, and for very opposite purposes. Several such epochs have occurred since the first legal requirement of subscription to them on the part of the clergy,* by 13 Eliz. cap. 12. First was the long warfare be-

* It does not appear that they were originally introduced into the Universities, whatever relations they had to the clergy, with a purpose so low and confined as a mere protest against Rome: they were designed with a constructive, rather than a destructive purpose; and perhaps to form a text-book, and not so much to exclude this or that set of opinions; as a test only in part, but mainly, whether wisely or not, as an educational instrument. They were first made compulsory at matriculation in 1581. Subscription to the 36th canon originated in 1616, for the express purpose of checking the advance of "the Presbyterial government, and the suffering of young scholars to be seasoned with Calvinian doctrines." It does not appear that the Vice-Chancellor had power to compel subscription to the Articles, according to his own will, until the

tween the Travers and Cartwright party on the one hand, against Hooker and Whitgift on the other, which at last developed itself into the predestinarian dispute. In the course of this, both parties appealed to the Articles, and it was primarily to declare the interpretation of the Articles on this dispute, that the Caroline declaration was prefixed to them: though it is obvious that this document then enounced a principle which might safely be applied to any other dispute besides the *Quinquarticular*. Next in order, in 1712, came the controversy concerning the right sense of subscription, which produced Waterland's dispute with Sykes and others on subscription in an Arian sense. But it was between the years 1766 and 1773 that the Articles were most furiously attacked and stubbornly defended. This dispute grew out of the publication of the 'Confessional,' by Blackburne, and the Feathers Tavern Association: the flame raged not only in Oxford and Parliament, but throughout the Church: in Oxford, however, with especial reference to subscription at matriculation. This last dispute was repeated with singular exactness in our own days: and the events of 1772 might be read for those of 1835, if we substitute the names of Hampden for Blackburne, and Lord Radnor for Sir William Meredith. The same caution of the respective Chancellors, Lord North and the Duke of Wellington, the same unfaithfulness and truckling of the Hebdomadal Board, by substituting, after the fatal precedent of Cambridge, a declaration for submission, and the same stern and indignant rejection of it on the part of Convocation, characterised either period.

Hitherto, however, it is significant that the defenders of the Articles had all along one line of defence which is common to every successive revival of the dispute, under whatever forms:—viz. they all assume the sense of the Articles to be equivalent to the mind of the Church. Ten years ago, or seventy years ago, upon what grounds was subscription to the Articles defended by Messrs. Sewell and Maurice, or Dr. Turton—or, again, by Bishop Horne? The various defenders of subscription have assumed that the sense of the Articles was ascertained: and so have the assailants. It was because the Articles were Articles of the Church; because they were a fettering of the liberty of Protestantism, that Jebb and Disney opposed subscription in any sense: because as Lord, then Mr., Grey, said, 'As to speculative matters in religion, they are by no means material; the Articles are the offspring of monkish enthusiasm, a jumble of contradictions: away with such fanatical stuff; we live in more enlightened times;' or, as Dr. Hampden expresses the same idea in terms more scholarly, but quite as intelligible, 'I do not scruple to avow myself favourable to a removal of *all tests*, so far as they are employed as secu-

present statute was enacted. Its object could not have been other than consistent with Laud's well-known views on the Regale, and Church authority.

rities of orthodoxy among our members at large.' And elsewhere, where he speaks of the 'unphilosophical and unscriptural notions on which the Creeds and Articles are founded.' It is only incidentally—we speak now of the period which has elapsed since the Rebellion,—that the sense of the Articles, or whether the Articles had one exclusive sense, has been disputed. It is only by hints that we can gain the opinions on this head of more recent writers, who are very full and valuable on points which we are not called upon at present to discuss. But since the publication of No. 90, (Tracts for the Times,) the question has turned upon the interpretation of the Articles, not upon the abstract desirableness of symbolical writings, nor upon undergraduate subscription, nor any other form and mode of subscription. We do not mean to assert that there has ever been a uniformly current and consistent recognition among our divines of the tribunal to which disputed interpretations of the Articles must yield; the authorized, if such they be, expositors may possibly be as numerous as their authorized expositions. For our present purpose, it would be quite sufficient to take even this ground, and to show that we have received, and subscribe certain articles which do not assert their own authority; and still further, which do not, in the event of varying interpretations, appeal to any standard authority for the resolution of doubts as they arise: it would be enough, then, to rest upon the admission, that there is *no* accredited court of appeal. It would be easy to show that such is the case, but none seem to doubt it: indeed, the conflicting views upon this or that authority, and all held without condemnation, would be a very sufficient argument against the establishment of such an authorized interpretation in days like these, and under the precarious auspices of an Oxford Hebdomadal Board. Taken by itself, the *fact* of the non-existence of any received interpretation of the Articles, we repeat, would be quite enough to condemn that which is now proposed. But we can do more than this; though there may be no synodical decision of the Church on the interpretation of the Articles, we can show what the chief Anglican divines have said on the subject; and we mean to prove that, more or less, they have interpreted the Articles by the general doctrine of the Church, *i. e.* by Catholic belief, rather than by the *obiter dicta* of certain individuals who happened to be their writers or compilers.

The occasion which leads us into this discussion is well known. It is now nearly four years ago since Mr. Newman published the celebrated No. 90, (Tracts for the Times,) grounded upon this free interpretation of the Articles. Among those who accepted with marked gratitude this interpretation, was Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow of Baliol, who, in two publications of that year, 'A Few Words,' and 'A Few more Words in defence of No. 90,' carried

this principle to its utmost limits, and, in subsequent publications, as most people think, beyond its limits; especially in a publication, 'The Ideal of a Christian Church.' With this work we are not now concerned, nor with Mr. Newman's tract; but only with a certain proposed statute, which is to come before Convocation, Feb. 13, which we subjoin in a note.*

* 'WHEREAS, it is notoriously reputed and believed throughout this University, that a book, entitled "The Ideal of a Christian Church considered," has recently been published in Oxford, by the Rev. William George Ward, M.A.; in which book are contained the following passages: viz.—

P. 45 (note). 'I know no single movement in the Church except Arianism in the fourth century, which seems to me so wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard, as the English Reformation.'

P. 473. 'For my own part I think it would not be right to conceal, indeed I am anxious openly to express, my own most firm and undoubting conviction,—that were we as a Church to pursue such a line of conduct as has been here sketched, in proportion as we did so, we should be taught from above to discern and appreciate the plain marks of Divine wisdom and authority in the Roman Church, to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart our great sin in deserting her communion, and to sue humbly at her feet for pardon and restoration.'

P. 68. 'That the phrase "teaching of the Prayer-Book" conveys a definite and important meaning, I do not deny; considering that it is mainly a selection from the Breviary, it is not surprising that the Prayer-Book should, on the whole, breathe an uniform, most edifying, deeply orthodox, spirit; a spirit which corresponds to one particular body of doctrine, and not to its contradictory. Again, that the phrase, "teaching of the Articles," conveys a definite meaning, I cannot deny; for (excepting the five first, which belong to the old theology) they also breathe an uniform intelligible spirit. But then these respective spirits are not different merely, but absolutely contradictory; as well could a student in the heathen schools have imbibed at once the Stoic and the Epicurean philosophies, as could a humble member of our Church at the present time learn his creed both from Prayer-Book and Articles. This I set out at length in two Pamphlets, with an Appendix, which I published three years ago; and it cannot therefore be necessary to go again over the same ground: though something must be added, occasionally in notes, and more methodically in a future chapter. The manner in which the dry wording of the Articles can be divorced from their natural spirit, and accepted by an orthodox believer; how their *prima facie* meaning is evaded, and the artifice of their inventors thrown back in recoil on themselves; this, and the arguments which prove the honesty of this, have now been for some time before the public.'

P. 100 (note). 'In my Pamphlets three years since, I distinctly charged the Reformers with fully tolerating the absence from the Articles of any real anti-Roman determination, so only they were allowed to preserve an *apparent* one: a charge, which I here beg as distinctly to repeat.'

P. 470. 'Our twelfth Article is as plain as words can make it, on the 'evangelical' side: (observe in particular the word "necessarily"): of course I think its natural meaning may be explained away, for I subscribe it myself in a non-natural sense.'

P. 563. 'We find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen.'

P. 567. 'Three years have passed since I said plainly, that, in subscribing the Articles, I renounce no one Roman doctrine.'

And whereas the said William George Ward, before the publication of the said book, was admitted to the respective Degrees of B.A. and M.A. of this University, on the faith of the following Declaration; which Declaration was made and subscribed by him before and in order to his being admitted to each of the said Degrees; that is to say:—'I allow the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and two; and I acknowledge all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty, besides the Ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God.'

And whereas the said passages of the said book appear to be inconsistent with the said Articles, and with the said Declaration, and with the good faith of him the said William George Ward, in making and subscribing the same:

In A CONVOCATION to be holden on Thursday, the 13th day of February next, at One o'Clock, the foregoing passages from the said book will be read, and the following Proposition will be submitted to the House:—

That the Passages now read from the book entitled 'The Ideal of a Christian Church considered' are utterly inconsistent with the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, and with the Declaration in respect of those Articles made and subscribed by William George Ward previously and in order to his being admitted to the Degrees of B.A. and M.A. respectively, and with the good faith of him the said William George Ward in respect of such Declaration and Subscription.

Had we space, we might say something on such obvious points as the unfairness of this proceeding *now*; if the Heads of Houses had thought it right to interfere with this standard of interpretation, this ought to have been done in 1841. Can it be that they

Before the question "Placetne, &c." is put, the Vice-Chancellor will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of answering to the charge of having published such passages so inconsistent as aforesaid.

If this Proposition is affirmed, the following Proposition will be submitted to the House:—

That the said William George Ward has disentitled himself to the rights and privileges conveyed by the said Degrees, and is hereby degraded from the said Degrees of B.A. and M.A. respectively.

Before the question "Placetne, &c." is put, the Vice-Chancellor will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of stating any grounds he may have for showing that he should not be degraded.

In the same CONVOCATION the following altered form of Statute, which will be promulgated in Congregation on Monday, the 10th day of February next, at ten o'clock, will be submitted to the House.

TITULUS XVII.

SECT. III.

§ 2. *De Auctoritate et Officio Vice-Cancellarii.*

1. After the words, —

— Et ut Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et quoscunque alios minus recte de fide Catholica, et Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sentientes, procul a finibus Universitatis amandandos curet.

"Quem in finem, quo quisque modo erga Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit, Subscriptionis criterio explorandi ipsi jus ac potestas esto"—

it will be proposed to insert the following:—

Quoniam vero Articulus illos Fidei et Religionis, in quibus male-sanæ opiniones, et præsertim Romanensium errores, reprehenduntur, ita nonnulli perperam interpretati sunt, ut erroribus istis vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur, nemini posthac, qui coram Vice-Cancellario, utpote minus recte de Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sentiens, conveniatur, Articulis subscribere fas sit, nisi prius Declarationi subscripserit sub hac forma:

Ego A. B. Articulis Fidei et Religionis, necnon tribus Articulis in Canone xxxvi^o. comprehensis subscripturus, profiteor, fide mea data huic Universitati, me Articulis istis omnibus et singulis eo sensu subscripturum, in quo eos ex animo credo et primitus editos esse, et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum.

Also in the next sentence of the existing Statute, beginning "Quod si quis S. Ordinis initiatus," before the words "subscribere a Vice-Cancellario requisitus," to insert the following words,—

una cum Declaratione supra-recitata

2. It will also be proposed in the said sentence to omit the words 'S. Ordinibus initiatus.'

Should these alterations be approved, that part of the Statute Tit. XVII. Sect. III. § 2. *De Auctoritate et Officio Vice-Cancellarii*, which will be affected by them, will stand as follows:

— Et ut Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et quoscunque alios minus recte de fide Catholica et Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sentientes, procul a finibus Universitatis amandandos curet.

Quem in finem, quo quisque modo erga Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit, Subscriptionis criterio explorandi ipsi jus ac potestas esto. Quoniam vero Articulus illos Fidei et Religionis, in quibus male-sanæ opiniones, et præsertim Romanensium errores, reprehenduntur, ita nonnulli perperam interpretati sunt, ut erroribus istis vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur, nemini posthac, qui coram Vice-Cancellario, utpote minus recte de Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sentiens, conveniatur, Articulis subscribere fas sat, nisi prius Declarationi subscripserit sub hac forma:

Ego A. B. Articulis Fidei et Religionis necnon tribus Articulis in Canone xxxvi^o. comprehensis subscripturus, profiteor, fide mea data huic Universitati, me Articulis istis omnibus et singulis eo sensu subscripturum, in quo eos ex animo credo et primitus editos esse, et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum.

Quod si quis (sive Præfectus Domus cujusvis, sive alius quis) Articulis Fidei et Religionis, a Synodo Londini A.D. 1562, editi et confirmatis; necnon tribus Articulis comprehensis Canone xxxvi^o. Libri Constitutionum ac Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, editi in Synodo Londini cæpta A.D. 1603. una cum Declaratione supra-recitata, subscribere a Vice-Cancellario requisitus ter abnuerit seu recusaverit, ipso facto ab Universitate exterminetur et banniat.

Delegate's Room, Dec. 13, 1844.

B. P. SYMONS, Vice-Chancellor.

have waited only till Tractarianism got unpopular? Mr. Ward, on *this* matter, has said no more than No. 90. But we are obliged to confine ourselves to the new Test: we say nothing of Mr. Ward: that he is about to defend himself is reason enough for our neutrality; but the amended statute does concern us. It is a vital question to every member of Convocation, and of the Church too. The Hebdomadal Board, for the first time since the Reformation, seeks to close that which has always been open: to limit and to bind that which has been hitherto left free. *Seeks*, we say, for we shall see that after all it fails in its object. But the object is the serious matter.

Again, mark the inconsistency of the Hebdomadal Board. Consistent only in inconsistency, the Heads of Houses have but a single virtue, that of submitting to the majestic popular voice: inflexible as a rock against right, in the shape of Convocation, they reserve all their suavity for the legitimate influence of might in the intelligible shape of Premiers, and Expediency, and the Spirit of the Age. Of the present Heads of Colleges and Halls, sixteen held office in 1835, *i.e.* two-thirds of the existing Hebdomadal Board: *then* Liberalism was the religious fashion; *then* Drs. Hampden and Hawkins were liberals; *then* they were for admitting Dissenters to the University; *then* 'avowing themselves favourable to the removal of *all* tests,' (Hampden's Observations, p. 35,) they actually proposed to Convocation the substitution of a Declaration for Subscription, because 'articles are unsuited to the *present state of theological opinion*, and might be improved in accordance with the advances made in other scientific methods,' *ibid.* p. 42;—because 'articles are fatally adverse to all theological improvement,' *ibid.* p. 22;—because 'adherence to them is no less incongruous and injurious to Religion, than in a society of physicians to make the maxims of Hippocrates and Galen the unalterable basis of their profession,' *ibid.* p. 22. Then, we repeat, Dr. Hampden was a Liberal, and wrote a pamphlet *against* the Articles; and the proposal to dispense with the Articles followed upon his publication. Now Dr. Hampden *acts* evangelical, and reads lectures *upon* the Articles; and this very same board of Heads of Houses—two-thirds of whom held the same office in 1835,—obedient to the same influence, *now* find that 'anti-tractarianism' is the last phase of fashionable Protestantism. They follow, once more, the changeful popular howl; and they actually have the astounding audacity, in 1845, to venture to make the little finger of a new Test thicker than the loins of the old Subscription, that subscription of which, in 1835, they could not bear the intolerable oppression. To suit the latitudinarianism of 1835, they could have trampled on every article, from 1 to 39,—to suit the equally fatal bigotry of 1845, they cannot endure even the most evanescent shade or difference of possible thought, though in the interpretation of a single clause

in a single article. O fickle fortune's wheel!—'the principles of the Reformation' in 1835 were unscientific, and adverse to theological growth; now a Cranmer's very commas are sacred. Calvin burning Servetus is the only illustration which occurs to us of the melancholy standard of Christian morality which has, during the last decade of years, influenced the Hebdomal Board.

But the subject is too solemn and serious for an *argumentum ad hominem*, however tempting and irresistible the occasion. The Test has graver faults than being a mere trick of retaliation and inconsistent spitefulness, on the part of its originators: it shares, in common with many reforms of the day, the character of being proposed either in ignorance, or defiance of the deep hidden principles which were, we believe, held by those who enacted the statute of subscription, which this additional declaration seeks practically to supersede; but it has viciousness peculiarly and characteristically its own. It sets up as the standard of interpretation a double measure; the belief of the compilers of the Articles, AND the *animus* of the University as the *imponens*.

We say then distinctly that the belief of the compilers of the Articles was not held as the legitimate exponent of the sense of the Articles by such writers as we are about to quote.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

"The Commons, in pursuance of their opposition against the growing Arminian faction, on the 28th of January, 1628, (but eleven days after the forementioned proclamation concerning Mountague's book, and prohibiting books against it,) passed this notable vote in Parliament, after a large debate; which the Archbishop in his endorsement on it, styles, *The Challenge of the Lower House in matters of Religion*.

An Order made by the Lower House of Parliament the 28th of January, 1628.

'We the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, which by the public acts of the Church of England, and the general and current exposition of the writers of our Church have been delivered unto us; and we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others wherein they do differ from us.'

To which challenge of theirs this pragmatical bishop then returned this bold and peremptory answer, written with his own hand, produced, attested by Master Prynne, and read at the Lords' bar in evidence against him.

'1. The public acts of the Church in matters of doctrine are canons and acts of councils, as well for expounding as determining; the acts of the High Commission are not in this sense public acts of the Church; nor the meeting of few or more bishops, *extra concilium*, unless they be by lawful authority called to that work, and their decision approved by the Church.

'2. The current exposition of writers is a strong probable argument, *de sensu canonis Ecclesie, vel articuli*, yet but probable: the current

'exposition of the Fathers themselves hath sometimes missed *sensum Ecclesiae*. * * *

'6. It seems against the King's declaration, 1. That says, we shall take the general meaning of the Articles; this act restrains them to consent of writers. 2. That says, the Article shall not be drawn aside any way, but that we shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense; this act ties to consent of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go against the literal sense; for here is no exception. So we shall be perplexed, and our consent required to things contrary.

'7. All consent in all ages, as far as I have observed, to an Article or Canon, is to itself, as it is laid down in the body of it, and if it bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense, *secundum analogiam fidei*, and that he hold it peaceably without distracting the Church, and this till the Church which made the Article, determine a sense. And the wisdom of the Church hath been in all ages, or the most, to require consent to articles in general as much as may be, because that is the way of unity; and the Church in high points requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent. As *de transubstantiatione*, &c.' So he in affront of the Commons."—*Prynne's Canterburie's Doome*, pp. 163, 164.

This is the incident referred to by Dr. Pusey's letter in the English Churchman, given below,* in a quotation from Heylyn,

* MY DEAR —, You ask me what I should do in case this new Test, to be proposed to Convocation, should pass. I would say at once, that others, not so immediately affected or intended by this Test as I am, need not, I should think, make up their minds yet. I plainly have no choice; it is not meant that I should take it, nor can I. You will not mistake me; I sign the Articles as I ever have since I have known what Catholic Antiquity is (to which our Church guides us) in their "literal grammatical sense," determined, where it is ambiguous, by "the faith of the whole Church," (as good Bishop Ken says) "before East and West were divided." It is to me quite plain that in so doing I am following the guidance of our Church.

The proposed Test restrains that liberty which Archbishop Laud won for us. Hitherto High and Low Church have been comprised under the same Articles. And I have felt that in these sad confusions of our Church, things must so remain, until, by the mercy of Almighty God, we be brought more nearly into one mind. But as long as this is so, the Articles cannot be, (which the new Test requires) "certum atque indubitatum opinionum signum." How can they be any "certain and indubitable token of opinion" when they can be signed by myself and —? This new Test requires that they should be: one then of the two parties who have hitherto signed them must be excluded. We know that those who framed the Test are opposed to such as myself. It is clear then *who* are henceforth excluded. The Test is indeed at once miserably vague and stringent; vague enough to tempt people to take it, too stringent in its conclusion to enable me to take it with a good conscience. Beginning and end do harmonize, if it be regarded as a revival of the Puritan "Anti-Declaration" that the Articles should be interpreted according to "the consent of divines;" they do not in any other case. This shifting of ground would indeed (were not so much at stake) be somewhat curious; how those who speak so much of "fallible men" would require us now to be bound in the interpretation of the Articles by the private judgment of the Reformers (it being assumed, for convenience sake, that Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper,* agreed among themselves), instead of Archbishop Laud's broader and truer rule, "according to the analogy of the faith." It would indeed be well, if all who have urged on this test, could sign the 1st and 8th Articles, in the same sense as Cranmer and Jewell. Well, indeed, would it be for our Church, if all could sign

* *Vide Heylyn's Life of Laud*, pp. 178, 182.

who himself speaking of the imposition of the Articles in Elizabeth's reign, says, in words which are barely quotable:

HELYN. (*Life of Laud*, p. 182.)

"Some ministers of the Church, so stiffly wedded to their old *mum-sinus* of the mass, and some as furiously prosecuting their new *sumpsimus* of inconformity, it was thought fit that *between those contending parties* the doctrine of the Church should be kept inviolate."

HELYN. (*Hist. Quinquart.* Part ii. ch. ix. p. 34.)

"In what sense we ought to understand the Book of Articles, hath been made a question. Some take the Articles in the literal and grammatical sense, which is the fairest and most approved way of interpretation. . . . Others there are, of which his late Majesty complained, 'who draw the Articles aside and put their own sense,' &c. . . . The true English Protestants (whom for distinction sake we may call *confessionists*) accommodate, though they do not captivate, *their own sense to the sense of*

the 27th in the same sense as all the Reformers, except perhaps Hooper. One could have wished that before this Test had been proposed to us, the board who accepted it and proposed it to us, had thought of ascertaining among themselves whether they themselves all took all and singular of the Articles in one and the same sense. And yet while they enjoy this latitude, how can the signature of the Articles be any certain and indubitable token of people's opinions?

However, this is matter for others; my concern is with myself. I have too much reason to know that my own signature of the Articles would not satisfy some of those from whom this Test emanates, since, when a year and a half ago, I declared repeatedly (as I then stated) that I accepted and would subscribe *ex animo*, every statement of our Formularies on the solemn subject upon which I preached, that offer was rejected; and this on the very ground (I subsequently learnt) that they did not trust my interpretation. When, then, they require that the signature should be "*certum atque indubitatum opinionum mearum signum*," it is plain that they mean something more than what I offered, and they refused to accept.

The Articles I now sign in the way in which from Archbishop Laud's time they have been proposed by *the Church*: this Test I should have to receive not from the Church, but from *the University*, in the sense in which it is proposed to me by them. Could I then ever so much satisfy myself that I could take the Test according to any general meaning of the words, I must know from past experience that I should not take it in the sense in which it was proposed to me. I could not then take it without a feeling of dishonesty.

You will imagine that I feel the responsibility of making such a declaration, knowing, as I must, that in case, in the present state of excitement, the statute should pass, younger men, whom it might involve in various difficulties, might be influenced by my example. I know, too, of course, that some will be the more anxious to press the Test, in hopes that my refusal to take it may end in my removal from this place. Whether it would or no I know not. But whatever be the result, it seems to me the straightforward course. It is best in cases of great moment, that people should know the effect of what they are doing.

I am ashamed to write so much about myself, but I cannot explain myself in few words. What is my case, would, probably, be that of others. It has often been painful to witness the apparent want of seriousness in people when things far more serious than office, or home, or even one's allotted duties in God's vineyard have been at stake. But people can feel more readily what it is to lose office and home, and the associations of the greater part of life. It will be a great gain, if what is done is done with deep earnestness. For myself, I cheerfully commit all things into His hands, Who ordereth all things well, and from Whom I deserve nothing.

Ever yours, affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Advent, Ember Week, 1844.—Tuesday.

NO. XLVII.—N.S.

O

the Church, according to the plain and full meaning of the Articles in the points disputed."

HEYLYN. (*Hist. Quinquart.* Part ii. ch. viii. p. 31.)

"The Articles of the English Protestant Church . . . were drawn up in general terms, . . . meaning that these holy men did prudently discover that differences in judgment would unavoidably happen in the Church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion for petty differences, which made them pen the Articles in *comprehensive words, to take in all, who differing in the branches, meet in the root of the same religion.*"

Nor was this doctrine of the Laudian School on the faith of the Church new; the Puritans had already admitted to the full that the meaning of the Articles was ascertained by the intention of the Church. They argued that the doctrine or intention of the Church had changed, and as the intention of the Church regulated the meaning of the Articles, they must withdraw their subscription.

ROGERS, *Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft.* (*Preface to his 'Faith, Doctrine, &c. expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles,'* sec. 34.)

"Again, of these brethren [the Puritans] that will subscribe but unto which they please of these Articles, there be some who fain would beat into men's heads . . . that the doctrine of our Church is altered from that it was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But this assertion being too gross, &c., . . . they secondly give out and report . . . how the *purpose*, if not the doctrine, of our Church is of late altered from what it was. And, therefore, though they can be well content to allow of the old doctrine and ancient intention; yet unto the old doctrine and new intention of our Church they cannot subscribe," &c.

where all that is sought to be established is, the absence of any recognition—and this holds good of both parties in the dispute—of authority in the belief of the writers of the Articles: the dispute turns on the current belief of the Church, not on the sentiments of the compilers of the Thirty-nine Articles. So also

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL. (*Schism Guarded*, p. 476, vol. ii. New edition.)

"He (Serjeant) might even as well let our thirty-nine Articles alone for old acquaintance' sake (*'dissuenda non dissecanda est amicitia'*) as to bring them upon the stage and have nothing to say against them. Some of them are the very same that are contained in the Creed; some others of them are practical truths, which come not within the proper list of points or articles to be believed; lastly, some of them are *pious opinions* or inferior truths, which are proposed by the Church of England to all her sons, *as not to be opposed*; not as essentials of faith necessary to be believed by all Christians, '*necessitate medii*,' under pain of damnation."

Two other passages are cited from the same great authority by Mr. Newman,* (*Letter to Jelf*, p. 20, *et seq.*) who also quotes—

* Dr. Faussett, in his *Lecture on the Articles*, p. 40, seems to say that these passages from Stillingfleet and Bramhall only refer to 'Lay Communion,' and

BISHOP BULL. (*Vindication of Church*, 27.)

BISHOP HALL. (*Catholic Propositions*, Prop. 3, 7, 8.)

BISHOP STILLINGFLEET. (*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, i. ch. 11.)

ARCHBISHOP LAUD. (*Conference, &c.*, p. 41, Ed. 1839.)

BISHOP TAYLOR. (*Further Explic. Orig. Sin.*, § 6.)

To which we venture to add—

BISHOP SANDERSON. (*Pax Ecclesiæ*, pp. 51, 52.)

"That particular Churches would be as tender as may be in giving their definitions and determinations in such points as these . . . especially where there may be admitted a latitude of dissenting without any prejudice done either to the substance of the Catholic Faith, or to the tranquillity of the Church, or to the salvation of the dissenter. In which respect the moderation of the Church of England is much to be commended."

A passage important, because Dr. Faussett, (Lecture on the Articles, p. 10,) has extracted one from Sanderson's 'De Juramenti Obligatione,' Prælect. iv. [vi.] sect. 9, which he thinks conclusive the other way. Indeed, Dr. Godfrey Faussett is not quite the person to decide cases of casuistry from Sanderson. Sanderson had said, in the passage cited by the Margaret Professor, that the 'terms of an oath must be understood according to the intention of him to whom the oath is made.* Well: but what is said elsewhere by this writer, our safest guide in such questions?

BISHOP SANDERSON. (*Nine Cases of Conscience*, p. 94.)

"All expressions by words are subject to such ambiguities, that scarce anything can be said or expressed in *any* words, how cauteously soever chosen, which will not render the whole subject capable of more constructions than one. . . . Where one construction binds to more, another to less, the true sense is to be fixed by the intention of the imposer. For that all promises and assurances wherein faith is required to be given to another, ought to be understood *ad mentem imponentis* [which seems exactly what Dr. F. and the Hebdomadal Board want], according to the mind and meaning of him to whom the faith is given, so far forth as the meaning may reasonably appear. . . . *Reasonably appear*, I mean, by the nature of the matters about which it is conversant, and such signification of the words wherein it is expressed, as, according to the ordinary use of speech among men, agreeth best thereto . . . If the intention of the imposer be not so fully declared by the words and nature of the business, but that the same words may, in fair construction, be still capable of a double meaning, so as, taken in one sense they shall bind to *more*, and in another to *less*, I conceive it is not

not to *subscription*. But Stillingfleet, in his 'Conferences' (Works, vol. vi. pp. 58, 59,) written expressly to vindicate the 'Rational Account,' when he again reviews the passages quoted from Bramhall, (cited by Newman in his extract from Stillingfleet, Letter to Jelf, pp. 23, 24,) says, 'What doth *SUBSCRIPTION* imply less than *agreeing with the sense of the Church?*'

* Compare, from the same book: 'Sunt ergo res aliquæ ita comparatæ ut benignam sibi interpretationem suo quodam jure concedi postulent: quæ sc. non sit interclusa verborum angustia, sed cum quodam (ut Ciceronis verbo utar) *laxamento* liberior.' De Juram. Præl. ii., sect. 8, p. 29.

necessary, nor always expedient (but rather for the most part otherwise) for the promiser, before he give his faith, to demand of the imposer, whether of the two is his meaning? But he may, by the rule of prudence, and that, for aught I see, without the violation of any law of his conscience, make his just advantage of that ambiguity, and take it in some sense which shall bind him to the less. . . . Since the faith to be given is intended to the behoof of him to whom it is given, it concerneth him to take care that his meaning be expressed in such words as will sufficiently manifest the same to the understanding of a reasonable man. Which if he neglect to do, no law of equity or prudence bindeth the promiser, by an over-scrupulous diligence, to make it out, whereby to lay a greater obligation upon himself than he need to do."

PULLER.* (*Moderation of the Church of England*, c. xvi. § 3, p. 119).

"These articles of religion are generally exhibited as articles of peace and consent, not as articles of faith and communion . . . for the avoiding of diversities of opinions (as the title of the Articles is) . . . the consent designed to be established is such a consent as may keep the peace of our Church undisturbed."

HAMMOND. (*Discourse of God's Grace*, § 24.)

"This I suppose the reason both of our Church's moderation in framing the article of predestination, and of our late King's Declaration."

THORNDIKE. (*Just Weights and Measures*, ch. ix. p. 62.)

"The Articles of this Church, setting forth justification by faith alone, for a most wholesome doctrine and full of comfort, for the sense of it, refer us to the Homily. I will not say that my position is laid down in the Homily. . . . But in the Church Catechism, and in the office of Baptism, it is so clearly laid down as will serve for ever to silence any other sense. And though that which the clergy subscribeth, be as it ought to be, a wholesome doctrine; to wit, if soundly understood; yet that by which Christian people are saved, ought to be that which the offices of the Church, and the instruction which it proposeth, contain."

BISHOP PEARSON. (*Minor Theological Works*, vol. ii.)

[It will be enough to refer to his answer to Cornelius Burges; whose line of argument was that 'the words of the Articles are ambiguous: and therefore they ought to be reformed by an orthodox explanation.']

BENNET. (*Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, chap. xxxv. p. 439.)

"If it be inquired with respect to the particular sense of each Article, and the several propositions contained therein, how much we are confined by our subscription, or what liberty is still indulged us; my answer is short and plain. When an Article, or any proposition contained therein, is fairly capable of different interpretations, that man may undoubtedly be said to believe the truth of that Article or proposition, who believes it true in any such sense as it will reasonably admit, without doing violence to the words, and contradicting what our Church has elsewhere taught, and required us to acknowledge. Wherefore, any such sense in which the Article or proposition may fairly be understood, is to be admitted, and may honestly be meant by the subscriber.

* This author quotes "Sancta Clara" for the same purpose.

Because the Church requires only the belief of the Articles in general, and does not restrain us to the belief of any one Article or proposition in any particular sense, further than we are confined and determined by the words themselves. And therefore, where the words themselves do allow a liberty, the Church does also allow the same; nor are we bound to abridge ourselves, where the Church has left us free.

"Had the Church so much as intended otherwise, it was in her power to have penned the Articles more strictly, and to have determined every proposition absolutely Wherefore, till the Church exerts such an authority, her first design, or present permission (either of which is sufficient, and of equal consideration, in this case), is manifest: nor is any person bound, either in law or conscience, to inquire farther, or to make any other compliance.

"Besides, when an Article or proposition is fairly capable of two different senses, I would fain know who has power to determine which is the Church's sense. The Church determines no farther than her words do necessarily mean; and when her words do not abridge our liberty, can a private person give an authentic explication of her words, and oblige his equals to admit the same?

"It may be pretended, perhaps, that the concurrent sense of the first writers ought to interpret the Church's words, and to restrain the sense of the Articles: but to this the answer is easy. It will, I fear, be difficult to get (what may truly deserve the name of) a concurrent sense of writers in the far greater number of cases. A single writer or too will not do. For did they write by authority? or were all that lived in their time of the same opinion? Might not the convocation themselves differ as much as the words are capable of admitting? and must we be determined only by a very few that happened to write, when the rest had equal authority? For my part, I think it much more reasonable to suppose, that the Church intended a liberty, and was resolved to determine no more than she thought necessary; and that when she had secured such truths as she was most concerned for, and had chiefly at heart, she was content to leave matters of inferior moment undetermined."

BISHOP CONYBEARE. (*On Subscription. Enchiridion Theolog.* vol. ii. p. 68. Ed. 1825.)

"It may happen in some instances that the meaning of words may not be certainly determinable, either by common use, or by the circumstances of the article. If this prove the case, then we are to understand them in such a sense as is consistent with other articles of religion. . . . But if expressions should occur which cannot be determined by passages in other articles, then will it be proper to inquire whether they may be fixed by our public liturgy, or by any other monuments which bear the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. The propositions set forth in our Articles ought to be understood in such a sense as is consistent with every other determination of the Church If the meaning cannot be fixed by [these] . . . then men of different sentiments may fairly subscribe them Such a latitude of expression must certainly admit as great a latitude of interpretation; and if a liberty of this kind had not been originally intended, we may fairly presume it would, by some act, have been restrained."

GLOUCESTER RIDLEY. (*Answer to the Confessional*, p. 137, 2d letter.)

"I suppose, therefore, that you [Blackburne] would have the original

sense of the compilers followed. But might it not as well be asked then, what pretence there can be for construing subscription into a declaration of the subscriber's opinion, in a certain original sense different from the original sense of another subscriber? . . . The compilers might be, and certainly in some things were, of different opinions. (Nichols on Articles, p. 3.) And supposing them men of temper also, they would of course agree to use terms expressing in what they agreed, without determining anything on matters in which they did not agree . . . *Even supposing that in these cases they designedly used ambiguous ones, where they knew that either sense was consistent with Christianity: nay, supposing the terms leaned rather to one sense than another, yet supposing them to know that they might, in their literal and grammatical sense, fairly express either; they might well and wisely take this method, on purpose, to preserve their own Christian liberty, and that of those who should come after them.*"

BISHOP CLEAVER. (*Sermon on Subscription*, p. 156, *et seq.*)

"It is contrary to all rule that reference should be had to the *imposers* for their sense of the Articles; a method which would be preposterous, if it were more practicable . . . The sense of the *compilers* . . . will not be less preposterous; whilst the manner in which it has been practised is open to more objections; for the reference has been most often made, not to the compilers collectively taken, but particularly to individuals; . . . and again, not so much to the actual language of their writings, as to such of their known tenets as have best coincided with the sentiments of those who make the reference."

Of the writers in the recent controversy, it may be enough to quote one who strongly objects to Tract 90. Not from its principle, but 'for the *application* (sic) of that principle, as contended for in the 'Tract.' The principle of interpretation itself is thus laid down by

BISHOP PHILLPOTS. (*Charge*, 1842, pp. 33, 34.)

"The only sound principle of interpreting them is to understand them in the sense in which he, who subscribes, has sufficient reason to know that they are understood by the authority which imposes the subscription . . . This authority is the Convocation of 1571 . . . Now the Convocation of that year, in the very canon which imposed subscription to the Articles, tells us what is the sense which they were designed to bear, namely, the *Catholic* sense [and then the well-known canon on *Preachers* is cited.] . . . If this statement asserts the *very principle* propounded in the Tract, namely, that the Articles are to be understood in the Catholic sense, and will be found, on consideration, to be utterly irreconcilable with the *application* of that principle, &c."

For obvious reasons we have not availed ourselves, on the one hand, of such documents as Forbes, (*Considerationes*, &c.) Sancta Clara, and the Essay towards a proposal for Catholic Communion; or in later times, Mr. Wix's pamphlets; neither have we referred to the Non-jurors; nor, again, to the school of Burnet, followed by Powell, Balguy, and Hey; nor, again, do we rest, though the testimony to fact is not without its weight, on the assertion of [Tindal] Preface to the Rights of the Church. 'It has obtained ' with High Church, that our Articles are not articles of belief,

but of peace.' But the proposed Oxford addition to Subscription goes directly to abridge that freedom which so many of our best and most temperate divines have claimed and lived upon.

In principle, the introduction of a new Test is a plain innovation upon the doctrine of the Church; and for the first time a recognition of that very straitness which the Puritans, on the one side, and such as Blackburne on the other, sought to impose. It sets up an authority in the University, the Church's minister, apart from, and paramount to, the Church itself.

It invests an official, who may be a layman, with the power of summoning before him *any individual, upon any occasion*, one even so vague as general suspicion, whether *clergyman or layman*,* and compels him to sign a document in *his*, the imposer's sense, without the least security that the imposer is himself orthodox. It proposes for a standard of interpretation the *animus imponentis*, which must vary every year, according to the accidental constitution of Convocation, or the Hebdomadal Board, or the literature and orthodoxy of a single person, *i.e.* the Vice-Chancellor.

It seeks to combine, as *pari materia*, two authorities equally unascertainable; viz. the sense of the imposers (of which we have disposed), and the sense of the compilers, *who never were imposers at all*: the Articles being framed by the unauthoritative responsibility of Cranmer, &c., to whom *we* owe no duties whatever, but they were not adopted by the Church till the Convocation of 1562. If, therefore, this composite† sense is to be discovered anywhere it must be, 1. either in the records of that very Convocation of 1571, which passed the famous Canon, cited by the Bishop of Exeter, about the Catholic fathers, at the same time that it enjoined subscription to the Articles; or, 2. in the known opinions and writings of the revisers of the Prayer-book in 1661; *beyond whom no Anglican is bound to go, because they are the last Reformers to us*; the last compilers, because revisers, of doctrine and discipline to us, and because they, if any, are imposers of the Articles upon us, and the last declaratists of the Church's sense. And for either of these *ascertainable* standards of interpretation we are called upon to substitute one as vague as it is ensnaring.

For all these reasons, and many more might be urged, had we space or time, we earnestly conjure every one of every school—

* The omission of the phrase *S. ordinibus initiatus* must be carefully weighed.

† It might at first be thought that this compound rule is sanctioned by the statements of the present Bishop of London, in his Charge, 1842; who (p. 14) interprets the Articles, first "by the Church's Liturgy and Homilies, especially the former:" failing this, "by the known, or probable, intention of those who framed" the Articles: but (Appendix, Note A, p. 68), in settling how *their* intention is to be discovered, his Lordship says, "we shall derive assistance from the teaching of the earlier Fathers, by whose statements of all the essential points of Christian doctrine, the fathers of our Reformed Church constantly declared themselves willing to abide." The Bishop's triple standard is the Prayer-book, interpreted by the Reformers, and *them by primitive antiquity*; the binary rule suggested by the Hebdomadal Board, is the Reformers interpreted by—the Hebdomadal Board!

save that of the bigoted and inconsistent party which sacrifices the peace of the Church to personal pique, and which, on the strength of an accidental majority in October, now thinks to gain the whole government of the University by this new Test—to resist with all their might the measure of February 13.

The cup is now about full: it is significant as well as cheering to know on what ground all who wish well, in whatever degree, to that great movement which has forced the Church of England out of apathy and false doctrine, may at length combine. It is to reject a measure which, in principle, has been affirmed by the Regicides and Puritans of the great Rebellion,* as we have shown—a measure which is directly opposed to the Declaration of King Charles and Archbishop Laud—a measure which seeks to impose a stringent test, which not one of the great ANGLICAN writers whom we have quoted, the Hammonds and Pearsons, the Bramhalls and Bulls, *could possibly have taken*—which in its degree undoes, for the Church of England, the work of centuries—repeals in principle all that the persecutions of the Rebellion, and the successive revisions of the Prayer-book have achieved for us; and finally, invests an individual with an instrument of the most grinding and oppressive tyranny to the conscience, which has been heard of since the days of the Solemn League and Covenant and the Westminster Assembly.†

* The ordinance convoking the Westminster Assembly recites as its purpose "the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false aspersions and misconstructions."

† We have said nothing of the two previous measures which are to be proposed in Convocation on the 13th of February. As to the passages from Mr. Ward's book which it is proposed to condemn, we are neither called upon nor are we desirous to defend them: but remembering who sit in the high places of Oxford and the Church, and what they have said and done about Creeds, and the most living truths of the Faith, to inflict *degradation* with its ignominious ceremonial on Mr. Ward, is an attempt at oppression, combined with mob-worship, which we are bound to resist: and this the more because it seems that at least one Head is displeased with the measure because *it does not go far enough*. We leave Dr. Cotton and Mr. Ward to count the steps between degradation and combustion.

At the moment of going to press we have received early copies of a well-timed and well-principled pamphlet from Mr. Gresley, 'Suggestions on the proposed Statute,' &c. (Burns), in which he very earnestly and seasonably remonstrates against the whole measure—and a serviceable reprint of Mr. Oakeley's 'The Subject of Tract XC. Historically Examined, &c.' (Toovey). From a new Preface we make an extract:—

"The sense in which the Articles were propounded, was not a Catholic, nor a Protestant, but a vague, indecisive, and therefore comprehensive, sense; that the Reformers themselves were without any precise doctrinal views of their own upon the points in controversy; that they were consequently the victims, alternately, of extreme Catholic and extreme Protestant influences; that, so far as they had any doctrinal sympathies of their own, they were Protestant rather than Catholic, but that the necessities of their position, as having to provide for the religious pacification of a country partly Catholic, partly Protestant, obliged them to a course (so far as doctrines at issue between the contending parties were concerned) of the strictest neutrality; and that the mode by which they sought to carry out this principle of neutrality, was that of couching their Formulary in language at once sufficiently Protestant in *tone* to satisfy the Reformers abroad, and sufficiently vague in *expression* to include the Catholics at home."

ART. VIII.—1. *The Autobiography of Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Martyr; collected from his Remains.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1839.

2. *Archbishop Laud's Devotions.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

3. *Archbishop Laud's Speeches on the Liturgy.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

BEFORE entering on our subject, we will venture a preliminary remark. None of the regular modern lives (we are not speaking, of course, of the Autobiography at the head of our list,) appear to do full justice to Archbishop Laud. We do not mean that they are not eulogistic enough, and defective in favourable intention to him:—by no means. Benevolence in a biographer, however, is not always synonymous with genuineness. What we want to see in a biography is the man himself, and not the biographer's affection for him. Benevolence does really great injustice often in this way, when it least intends it. A friendly portrait is very apt to be a weak one. We are so tender about our hero; we will not let him come out, but keep him in doors like a sickly child. And the more complex and irregular the kind of character, the greater the risk of its suffering in this way. The biographer is too friendly to be bold; he will not confront traits in his hero that do not *primâ facie* promise well; he avoids rough parts, and goes by the dark corners, instead of going into them, and seeing where they lead him. One set of features preoccupies his field: he is afraid of any irruption. The effect of a favourite trait is threatened to be interfered with by an apparent contrary to it lurking in another part of the character; he stops the rising antagonism from coming to the surface. The consequence is, one weak phenomenon instead of two strong ones,—for the probability is, that the two opposite elements of character would have been positively improved and heightened, instead of being nullified by the antagonism; and that each would have been the better for the opposition of the other. It is hardly paradoxical to say, that a friendly hand is almost as capable of being disadvantageous to a portrait, as a hostile one. The effect of the one touch is favourable but mawkish, of the other malignant but real. We have to go to the enemy for colours which the friend will not give us. And perhaps the joint production of both parties is a more really interesting likeness, after all, to an eye that can embrace and combine them, than the purely and exclusively friendly one.

Laud is regarded too generally in the one light of a zealous champion of forms and ceremonies, an uncompromising advocate of rubrical uniformity. He was certainly this; but he was a

great many other things too : and in the department of character, additions tell more than simply arithmetically,—they enlarge, elevate, alter the whole basis of a man. The political department *e. g.* in Laud, throws depth on the ecclesiastical, and each benefits the other. But the biographer is afraid of the politician. The combination of bishop and politician has a worldly look; and seems to give an advantage to puritans. The politician is accordingly put in the background: the pious upholder of vestments and the Church service is presented to us. The age catches the character, and expresses it in its own way: and the stickler for obsolete forms, the obstinate old zealot about trifles, becomes the one popular figure of Laud.

We must pay our tribute, however, to the contemporary historian, to the vivid, amusing, clever Heylyn. Heylyn was one of those persons whom Laud picked up in the course of his administration, (as he did many others), and set to work in the Church cause. He wrote books and pamphlets when Laud wanted them, and supplied the Archbishop with university and clerical information. It was Laud's character to be most goodnatured and familiar with his subordinates—with any who worked under him, and did what he told them; and Heylyn thoroughly enjoyed and relished his good graces. There is an amusing under-stream of self-congratulation throughout his biography, at his participation of the great man's patronage. He seems to have been occasionally told secrets and let behind the scenes;—a matter of great pride to him. He communicates the information, with a kind of sly, invisible smirk in the background, and a nudge under the table to the reader,—to remind him of the Archbishop's cleverness, not forgetting the biographer's. The former would not have been particularly obliged, on one or two occasions, for the candid display of his strategics, and bits of necessary state-craft, in his devoted admirer's pages. Heylyn gives us his own account of his first reception by Laud; and it is very significant of the relationship of the two. The flattering attentions of the Metropolitan and Premier to the 'poor Oxford scholar,'—that is to say, a fellow of Magdalen, as Heylyn was, were quite enough to win a person of his temperament; and the courteous arts of the great man, and the pleased sensations of the little man, are equally characteristic.

'Being kept to his chamber at the time with lameness, I 'had,' says Heylyn, 'both the happiness of being taken into 'his special knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer 'conference than I should otherwise have expected. I went 'to present my service to him, as he was preparing for 'this journey, and was appointed to attend him the same day 'severnigh, when I might presume on his return. Coming

‘precisely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he kept himself to his chamber; but order had been left among his servants, that if I came, he should be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his chamber, where I found him sitting on a chair, with his lame leg resting on a pillow. Commanding that nobody should come and interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to sit down by him, inquired first into the course of my studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold myself in that moderate course in which he found me. He fell afterwards to discourse of some passages in Oxford in which I was specially concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such opposition as had been made against him in the University by Archbishop Abbot, and others; and encouraged me not to shrink, if I had already, and should hereafter find the like. I was with him thus, *remotis arbitris*, almost two hours. It grew almost 12 of the clock, and then he knocked for his servants to come to him. He dined that day in his ordinary dining-room, which was the first time he had done so since his mishap. He caused me to tarry dinner with him, and used me with no small respect; which was much noticed by some gentlemen (Elphinstone, one of his Majesty’s cupbearers, being one of the company) who dined that day with him. A passage, I confess, not pertinent to my present story, but such as I have good precedent for from Philip de Comines, who telleth us impertinently of the time of his leaving the Duke of Burgundy’s service to betake himself to the employments of King Louis XI.’

Heylyn’s biography, however, only gives one side of the Archbishop: it exhibits the shrewd tactician, the active indefatigable man of business, the spirited Church Champion. Heylyn realizes acutely the religious politics, and party aspects of the times: he catches phrases, watchwords, party notes: a cant term, a piece of abuse that he has treasured up, lets you into the whole feeling of the time being, like a newspaper. Laud, the ecclesiastical combatant and schemer, figures in strong colours throughout; but we are not let into the inner and deeper part of his character: the *homo interior* was not in Heylyn’s line. We read through his book and have barely a glimpse of a whole inward sphere of thought and feeling in which Laud’s mind was moving all the time. We go to another document for this: the Diary reveals a different man from what the active scene presented; and a fresh and rather opposite field of character appears. Heylyn’s portrait has a new colour thrown upon it by the connexion; we look on the stirring features with another eye when we have seen the quiescent ones; the bustle of State and Church politics covers an interior of depth and feeling; the

courtier, statesman, and man of the world kneels before the cross; and we gain a different idea of him altogether.

William Laud was born at Reading in 1573. His father was a clothier of that town: his mother's family had rather more pretensions, and boasted a city knighthood in the person of Sir William Webb, a lord mayor of London, and a salter by trade, Laud's maternal uncle. The puritans did not forget this fact of a mercantile origin in his days of power, and ornamented it with very circumstantial additions. He was born 'of poor and obscure parents in a cottage,' was Prynne's account: he 'was born between the stocks and the cage,' says the Scots' Scout.—'A courtier,' he adds, 'one day chanced to speak thereof, 'whereupon his Grace removed them thence, and pulled down 'his father's thatched house, and built a fair one in the place;'—a gratuitous and rather ungracious mode of stating the simple fact, that Laud built and endowed an almshouse in his native town. The subject of his birth was a prolific one; and 'libel after libel,' as he said, 'raked him out of the dunghill.' Even with *his* long and intimate experience of the power of puritanical language, Laud was sometimes horrified with the intensity of abuse which poured in upon him on the subject of his origin. Heylyn found him one day walking in his garden, at Lambeth, looking 'troubled'—disgusted, in modern language: Laud showed him one of these virulent papers: he pleaded guilty to the fact 'of not having the good fortune to be born a gentleman;'—'yet he thanked God he had been born of honest parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind them.' 'And therefore,' continues Heylyn, 'beginning to clear up his countenance, 'I told him as presently as I durst, that Pope Sixtus the Fifth, 'as stout a pope as ever wore the triple crown, but a poor man's 'son, did use familiarly to say, in contempt of such libels as 'frequently were made against him, that he was *domo natus* 'illustri, because the sunbeams, passing through the broken walls 'and ragged roof, *illustrated* every corner of that homely cottage 'in which he was born—with which facetiousness of that pope '(so applicable to the present occasion) he seemed very well 'pleased.' We doubt whether Heylyn's precise case in point would have operated as a consolation to a very marked aspiration after high birth: but Laud's disgust was occasioned by the animus of his libellers, and not by the fact of his own origin.

'In my infancy,' says the Diary, 'I was in danger of death by sickness.' Laud carried with him from his birth one of those constitutions which are always ailing, and never failing. He had never good health for long together; and his fierce attacks of illness brought him sometimes to death's door, leaving him, however, as

strong for work again as ever, as soon as they were passed. A creaking gate lasts: weakness and iron often go together in the bodily constitution. There are different kinds of health; rude and full; slender and wiry: in-doors health, and out-of-doors health: reading health, and hunting health; the healths capacitating respectively for mental and for bodily work. Laud had the weakly kind of health eminently; a vigorous, obstinate, in-doors constitution. His ailments, except when they broke out violently, seem only to have operated as a sort of unconscious stimulus, and mental mustard-plaster, perpetually keeping him up to his work—his internal puritans.

He went to the school of his native town, and had the benefit of a disciplinarian hand over him. 'After a wonderful preservation in his infancy,' we are told, 'from a very sore fit of sickness, he had a happy education in his childhood under a very severe schoolmaster.' He was appreciated, however, for his master frequently said to him, that he hoped he would remember 'Reading School when he became a great man.' One of the prognostics, it is curious to notice, was his 'dreams:' the boy had 'strange dreams;' the religious grotesquenesses, superstitions, or whatever critics may call them, of the Diary, seem to have been born with him. We will add that he must have been exceedingly clever to have made the recital of them tell so much in his favour. There is no subject matter that tasks human power more to make interesting. We have no disrespect for the thing itself, for the dream *per se*, for the world of sight, sound, and action, that sleep introduces us into: nevertheless nature herself yawns, and the face of social life lengthens into despondency, as soon as ever the public communication of a dream commences—as soon as ever the preparatory note and prelude is heard—What do you think I dreamed of last night? A man's dream interests himself because it is his own—a plain intimation of reason that it is meant for his own peculiar enjoyment. However, the little Laud had, it appears, very striking dreams; and his schoolmaster saw mind in them. Genuine nature gives a character wherever she is the originator; and the native productions of a soil have a charm about them. We like Laud's dreams for being born with him. He seems to have a right to them; and their shadowy fragmentary character shows an imaginative element in his mind, and points back to a more vivid childish prototype. He appears, in his school-days, to have been what is called a regular sharp boy: and his 'witty speeches, generous spirit, great apprehensions, and notable performances,' raised people's expectations about him.

At sixteen, he went up to Oxford, and entered at St. John's College; became a scholar the next year, and four years afterwards

fellow. 'He was at that time,' we are informed by Wood, 'esteemed by all who knew him, (being little in stature), a very 'forward, confident, and zealous person;' a not unnatural line of character for a young man to fall into, who had great talents, great earnestness, a strong religious bias, and a considerable disgust for the tone of opinion which surrounded him.

The religious atmosphere of the University at this time was, as is well known, Calvinistic in the extreme. The developed Reformation theology was predominant there. The divinity professorships were in the hands of strong Calvinists; and the Genevan doctrines were the regular authorized teaching and standard of the place. First in power in the University was Dr. Laurence Humphries, President of Magdalen College, and Regius Professor of Divinity; a disciple of Zwinglius, and a correspondent of Calvin. 'The best that could be said of him,' says Heylyn, 'by one who commonly speaks well of that party '[the historian Fuller], was, that he was a moderate and conscientious nonconformist.' He was, however, a clever man, a fluent lecturer, and master of a good Latin style. The Divinity Schools were his great field; and his lectures, which consisted of strong expositions of all the Calvinistic tenets, and fierce denunciations of the Pope, moulded the theology of the University students. 'He sowed in the Divinity Schools,' as we are told, 'such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in 'the younger men such a strong hate against the Papists, as if 'nothing but divine truths were to be found in the one, and 'nothing but abominations to be seen in the other.' His college felt its head: Magdalen 'was stocked with a generation of nonconformists,' and became a conspicuous nursery and hot-bed of Calvinism. A change has passed over the face of that society since these religious movements. The incongenial effervescence, under a happier influence, subsided, and has not returned; and Laurence Humphries, were he to visit the scene of his labours again, would have to mourn over his lapsed college; the rigours of puritanism no longer predominant within its walls; the five points untouched; and a fellow of Magdalen not *ipso facto* a supralapsarian.

The Calvinistic party had aid from the political world. Humphries had a warm coadjutor, indeed, in the Lady Margaret Professor; but as if this was not staff enough for the work: as if these two, says Heylyn, 'did not make the distance wide 'enough between the churches, a new lecture must needs be 'founded.' New theological lectures were the protestantizing machinery of those times, as they have been since. The government of the day favoured the Calvinistic side. Walsingham, the Secretary of State, and the Earl of Leicester, Chan-

cellor of the University, both leant a ready ear to the suggestions of Humphries and his school; and Oxford puritanism was in close and intimate alliance with political power at head-quarters. Walsingham is described by our historian as 'a man of great political ability, an extreme hater of the popes and Church of Rome, and no less favourable unto those of the puritan faction.' Doctor John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, a learned and rigorous puritan, stood high in Walsingham's good graces: he was appointed to the new lectureship, and joined the other official disseminators of the Calvinistic doctrines in the University.

The coalition engendered a great feeling of security and strength in the party. A party feels itself strong that has a back to lean against; that has reinforcements to call in when it wants them. Confidence is seated in a background; and the mind of the partisan expands with self-complacency and hope as it feels the remoter and more exoteric circle of sympathy and assistance. 'Our friends in the government'—'our parliamentary supporters'—'our friends in the country'—and 'our friends in town,' are indefinite sources of self-gratulatory strength to a side, and the sure aid at a distance has double weight at home. Parties under such circumstances grow easy, boastful, and contemptuous: they ride over the field, clear their way unscrupulously, vote opposition to be *ipso facto* absurd, urge the territorial right, implant themselves in the soil, engraft their own system and character, feel at home, and cover the ground. The Calvinistic party at Oxford enjoyed their alliance with the political world, and nipped all opposition to them in the bud, by simple weight and impetus. They had it all their own way: those who thought differently from them kept their own opinions to themselves, rather than face the storm of censure and vituperation, which they would have encountered by expressing them. Heylyn mentions two names of fellows of colleges as the only public, open, orthodox ones existing in the place at this time. There, doubtless, was another school all the while in embryo, but it was only an embryo one. It had not courage to come out, or voice to make itself heard. It wanted a leader and mouthpiece, somebody to bring it out and make it speak, elicit its powers, encourage its efforts, and mould it into shape and compactness.

Oxford was only a sample of the rest of the country. The Reformation in this country ended in showing itself a decidedly Calvinistic movement. The theology of our native reformers, where it did not run spontaneously in this direction (as it did not in some), was too weak to resist its irruptions; and Calvin and the foreign reformers stepped in almost as soon as the

movement had begun, threw their whole impetus into it, and turned it their own way. A movement shows itself in its fruits: the Reformation produced Calvinism: Calvinism was its immediate offspring, its genuine matter-of-fact expansion. The divines that the Reformation directly produced, its actual disciples and sons, were everywhere of this school; and the Calvinistic foliage sprouted with all the freedom and exuberance of nature.

Laud commenced his course in this state of University theology: and had to push his way through this adverse system. He fought at a disadvantage. He did not *start* with Laudian station and authority: far from it; he had authority regularly against him, and stood a simple individual, and fellow of a college, against the whole official stream of academical opinion, against the favourite and cardinal doctrines of vice-chancellors, heads of houses, and divinity professors. Laud's ultimate historical position is so prominent in our minds, that we hardly think of him in his previous humbler one; as if he had never not been an Archbishop, and been born, on the principle of Minerva's leap out of Jupiter's head, in full-blown metropolitan maturity and canonicals. The Caroline Court and the Regale, appear born with him. We picture him the man of pomp and station to begin with; with all the paraphernalia of ecclesiastical power ready made to his hands, and leave him only the easy task of laying down the law, and punishing the rebel, bringing down the terrors of suspension on the nonconformist, and of the pillory on the libeller. It was very different in fact: Laud certainly made full use of his powers, both ecclesiastical and secular, when he got them; but it was a long time before he got them. He was long all but alone, and had an up-hill course. Dignitaries condemned, acquaintances avoided, even friends suspected him: he endured a humiliating discipline and a severe succession of rubs. He laid his own groundwork, and created his own authoritativeness; we see the result, and forget the process which led to it; we antedate the man of power, and give him what he made himself before he made it.

He appears before us, in short, in the first instance as an innovator upon the dominant and authorized theology of the day. A high Churchman of the 'old school' can now appeal to his sanction and name; but Laud was not one of an 'old school' himself; there was no 'old school' of high-Churchmanship for *him* to belong to: the 'established school' of the Church was then Calvinistic; Calvinism was the theology of the Church dignitary, the Bishop, the Dean, the College Head. The maintainer of another system had to assume the character which thinks for itself, and will not follow the lead; a free,

independent, and original one. Laud's high-Churchmanship was no more made to his hand than his archiepiscopate. It did not come to him in the natural course of his education, as the teaching of the day, as the regular, established, proper, decorous, and respectable orthodox system. His orthodoxy raised itself; was the growth of his own mind in opposition to the prevailing system, and had to be maintained by the force of his own judgment and taste against a whole incongenial and hostile state of contemporary theology.

Laud was ordained in 1601 by Young, Bishop of Rochester. The bishop 'found his study raised above the system and 'opinions of the age, upon the noble foundation of the fathers, 'councils, and the ecclesiastical historians, and presaged that, if 'he lived, he would be an instrument of restoring the Church 'from the narrow and private principles of modern times.'

A series of collisions, accordingly, with the University authorities marks the first period of Laud's theological career. They began upon a tender point. The authorized theology of the Oxford schools denied all definite visibility to the Church through the middle ages. The Pope was Antichrist; Romish orders were the mark of the beast; the Church of England was entirely separated from all connexion with her mediæval existence; and the very idea of deriving her authority from a Romish fountain-head savoured of simple pollution, instead of the dignity of antiquity, to the post-reformation theologians of that day. The visibility of the Church took a leap from the age of the Apostles to that of the Berengarians; from the Berengarians it passed to the Albigenses; from the Albigenses to the Wickliffites; from the Wickliffites to the Hussites; from the Hussites to the congregations of Luther and Calvin; and from them to the English Reformed Church. The English Church was made to rest on a succession of doctrine purely; the torch of 'gospel light' had been caught and passed on by scattered bodies of true believers, one after another, till it lit up the flame of the Reformation: that was the Church's warrant, and the succession of orders was simply beside the mark. Abbot, the future puritanical Archbishop, was then Master of University College, and Vice-Chancellor, a double-dyed Calvinist, and an advocate of this theory especially. When Archbishop, he wrote a treatise in support of it. Laud, in an academical exercise which he delivered shortly after his ordination, maintained the formal ecclesiastical ground, and claimed a regular legitimate existence for the mediæval English Church. He placed the authority of the present Church upon that basis, and traced its orders and genealogy, through the Roman Catholic hierarchy, up to the apostles and the primitive Church. The exercise gave great

offence. Abbot saw with jealousy the start of a young theological antagonist, and seems to have presaged instinctively the course of the future rival, who was to be perpetually treading on his heels:—‘He thought it a great derogation to his parts and credit, that any man should dare to maintain the contrary of his opinion, and thereupon conceived a strong grudge against Laud, which no tract of time could either abolish or diminish.’

His degree of Bachelor of Divinity was the next occasion which brought him out. His exercises in the schools maintained the necessity of episcopacy, and the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Both were unpopular doctrines at Oxford. A clamour was raised against him: he was accused of creating discord between the English and the other reformed churches. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration was doubly odious, too, defended in the language of Bellarmine. It was thought an insult to a Protestant university for one of its members to be publicly quoting Bellarmine, and borrowing his arguments from a Roman Catholic controversialist. The common-sense answer was, that if the arguments were good, it did not signify where they came from.

A sermon delivered the next year (1606), in the pulpit of St. Mary's, the contents of which we are not informed of, brought down upon him a vehement attack from Dr. Henry Airay, Vice-Chancellor and Provost of Queen's, a pupil of the reformer Bernard Gilpin, a person of great repute for gravity, learning, and sanctity in the puritanical party, and the popular author of a treatise ‘against bowing at the name of Jesus.’ Some passages in the sermon appeared ‘*superstitionem pontificiam sapere*,’ and Dr. Airay cited Laud to answer in his court. The trial went on for some weeks, and made a stir in the theological world. Laud showed great ability, spirit, and acuteness; parried his opponents dexterously, and got clear off at last, without any process of retractation, or apology to go through. It is a pity we are entirely deprived of the details of a scene so highly characteristic. Laud had his first taste here of a theological trial; his last was when he appeared at the bar of the House of Lords. His quickness, steadiness, and vivacity carried him through the academical ordeal, and the terrors of Dr. Henry Airay's tribunal. The Oxford Vice-Chancellor's court had no bill of attainder to fall back upon, when a troublesome adversary had foiled it: the Lords were better provided, and could help themselves to ready-made law, when the statute book failed.

An antagonist is not disliked the less for gaining a victory, or making an escape. Laud was regarded more and more as a dangerous man: Abbot grew more bitter and splenetic every day. Dark rumours were set afloat; and suspicion was rife.

People were afraid of him, and afraid of being seen with him. 'It was a heresy,' was Laud's own account, 'to speak to him, and a suspicion of heresy to salute him as he walked in the street.' — It was dangerous to be seen in his company. Friends even began to be perplexed and suspicious of the formal ecclesiastical bearing in his theology; to think him going too far, to profess not to understand him, not to penetrate his mixture, or get behind his veil. He had a character for subtlety and ambiguity; for not telling people what he was, or where he was going. He lived under a cloud. The reports against him reached the sister university; and Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, writes to him: 'I would I knew where to find you; then I could tell you how to take direct arms, whereas now I must pore and conjecture. To-day you are in the tents of the Romanists, to-morrow in ours, the next day between both, against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs, your conscience finds you with both, and neither: I flatter you not. This of yours is the worst of all tempers. How long will you halt in this indifferency? Resolve one day, and know at last what you do hold, and what you do not. Cast off either your wings or your teeth, and, loathing this bat-like nature, be either a bird or a beast. To die wavering or uncertain, yourself will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? God crieth with Jehu, 'Who is on my side, who?' Look out at your window to Him, and in a resolute courage cast down the Jezebel that hath bewitched you.' Good Bishop Hall is obviously sorely puzzled with him; he sees in him a change upon the established system of the day, and, what is more alarming still, something of a departure from Bishop Hall: and he does not know what to think of it.

A few years passed, and found matters not improved. Laud preached on a Shrove-Tuesday a sermon reflecting on some of the puritan doctrines. Dr. Abbot, brother of the Archbishop, and Divinity Professor, was Vice-Chancellor. He bottled up his indignation all Lent, and on Easter Sunday burst out; and from the University pulpit at St. Peter's, delivered a strain of theological invective sufficiently open and pointed. Laud was not present on that occasion, but the discourse was re-delivered, according to custom, on the following Sunday, at St. Mary's; and to avoid the appearance of being absent through fear, he went, and sat under his castigator. There was no attempt at disguise on the part of the preacher, and all eyes were fixed on Laud as the following interrogatories were addressed to him from the pulpit: 'Might not Christ say, What art thou? Romish or English, Papist or Protestant? Or what art thou

‘a mongrel, composed of both; a Protestant by ordination, a Papist in point of free-will, inherent righteousness, and the like. A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament; a Papist in the doctrine of the Sacrament. What! do you think there are two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place yourself there, for unto this where I am ye shall not come.’ The preacher added a spirited description of Laud’s party or set: ‘Some,’ he continued, alluding to the latter, ‘are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion serves them, that a man might say, *noster es an adversariorum?* who, under pretence of truth, and preaching against the puritans, strike at the heart and root of the religion now established among us. They cannot plead that they are accounted Papists because they speak against the puritans, but, because being indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them. If they do at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it: they speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will speak against another, as against equivocation, the Pope’s temporal power, and the like, and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches: but in the points of free-will, justification, concupiscence being a sin after baptism, inherent righteousness, and certainty of salvation, the Papists beyond the seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the recusants at home make their boast of them. In all things they keep themselves so near the brink, that upon occasion they may step over to them.’

‘I came time enough,’ said Laud, writing to his friend, Bishop Neil, shortly after, ‘to be at the rehearsal of this sermon, upon much persuasion, where I was fain to sit patiently, and hear myself abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as I sat. For this present I would fain have taken no notice of it, but that the whole University did apply it to me; and my own friends tell me I shall sink my credit if I answer not Dr. Abbot in his own. Nevertheless, in a business of this kind, I will not be swayed from a patient course.’ Perfect coolness and good temper marked Laud’s academical career throughout. The theological tribunal and the pulpit, rumour, suspicion, and black looks; vice-chancellors, heads of houses, and divinity-professors, were all at him: they put themselves into agitation, but not him. Dignitaries were jealous of the junior; Calvinists were disgusted at the theologian: but the junior and the theologian himself was quite calm. Laud pursued his own line, kept his object before him, and went quietly on, never giving way an inch, but never at the same time troubling himself to retaliate. Attacks and invectives simply spent themselves in the air, as

far as he was concerned, and were without practical effect. His mode of aggression showed the same temper, was firm and continuous, taking advantage of opportunities; bold, when there was a blow to be hit; but ordinarily quiet, and working under rather than above ground. He seems to have gone on the rule of keeping as much out of scrapes as he could consistently with his public line: and to get into one was an instantaneous call upon all the faculties of his mind to the rescue; an evoker of all his cleverness and ready wit to get him out of it again. An exercise for a degree, a sermon at St. Mary's, was turned to account, and made a theological weapon. He takes up some definite Church-doctrine—episcopacy, baptismal regeneration, or whatever it may be, and puts it strongly forward. If he is called to account for it, still the thing is done: an inquisition on the sermon, an attack from the pulpit, cannot prevent that fact; the coast is soon clear, and he is quiet again, and resumes his ordinary course. It is remarkable, that no charge of violence, or hot-headedness appears against him through this period. His enemy, Abbot, accuses him of cunning and underhand-work, but not of any violence: the former is of course the charge made, where the latter cannot be.

Ten years of this course had passed, when the Presidency of St. John's became vacant by the promotion of Buckridge to the see of Rochester. Laud had been working his way, and been gaining influence—over his own college especially. He stood for the Presidency; and the whole zeal and activity of the puritanical party were instantly called into play to oppose him. Abbot was indefatigable; the University dignitaries were immediately in communication with the government, and the Chancellor Ellesmere received private notices of Laud being a dangerous man, and having 'papistical' leanings, and of the necessity of keeping him 'out of any place of government in the University.' Ellesmere was gained; Ellesmere had possession of the King's ear, and Laud's election seemed to be fairly done for, before a single vote in St. John's had been taken. Laud was disabled at the time himself from doing anything; being laid up with one of his illnesses in London, and too weak to attempt a journey, or even to write a single line to his friends on the subject. However, the voting came on, and he had a majority. It is a proof of the extraordinary excitement which the election had created, that one of the fellows at this very moment snatched the paper containing the votes out of the hands of the college officer, and tore it in pieces. The evidence of the election was thus disposed of, and Laud's opponents appealed to the Crown, and pushed for an absolutely Royal appointment, quashing all the college votes.

Laud had an intercessor with James, however, in the person of Bishop Neil of Durham. The appeal came before James in person: he heard both parties for the space of three hours, and concluded by declaring Laud President of St. John's. The day of the decision was August 29, 'the day of the decollation of St. John Baptist,' adds the Diary. Laud was a great observer of all coincidences of days, and did not pass over the coincidence of his being declared President of St. John's on St. John's day.

Placed at the head of his college, he instantly adopted the amiable line; forgave and tranquillized, and threw oil upon the angry waters. He was particularly affectionate to the fellow who had torn up the scrutiny paper. College propriety demanded, of course, some judicial notice of such a disorderly proceeding, and a solemn tribunal sat upon the offender. But authority was satisfied with showing itself, and then graciously descended from the judicial chair, and embraced the criminal. He was a clever man, and capable of being useful. Laud took him into favour, and paid him great attention. He afterwards made him his chaplain, gave him preferment, and married him to his niece; and finally raised him to the very presidency which had been the subject of all the commotion. 'To the other fellows,' continues Heylyn, 'who had opposed him in his election, he always showed a fair and equal countenance, hoping to gain them by degrees; but if he found any to be intractable, not easily to be gained by favours, he would find some handsome way or other to remove them out of college, that others, not engaged upon either side, might succeed in their places.—Notwithstanding all this care, the faction still held up against him, the younger fry inclining to the same side which had been taken by their tutors.' Perseverance, however, won the field at last.

We now quit the Oxford scene for a more expansive one; and Laud's real life begins. He steps out of the threshold. A college headship does not ordinarily figure as the starting point; it is more commonly the harbour than the port of exit, and rewards exertions oftener than stimulates them: it does not often send either a political or ecclesiastical adventurer into the world. It did in his case. Laud did not feel the satisfying influences of station. The common tendency of minds to rest upon their oars, and repose at the first stage of their progress,—to erect the *templa serena* on the very first elevated spot,—to think they have done enough as soon as they have done anything at all—to enjoy dignified ease—to give up growth and abandon themselves to efflorescence, was not his failing. The President of St. John's immediately set out for a *terra incognita*, and entered upon a wholly new sphere of exertion and line of life. At

home in one department, Laud was instantly a beginner in another; and the labourer and drudge on the large political field was more to his taste than the University dignitary. His career in Oxford had done what he wanted; drawn him out, given him an experience, exercised his talent, and shown in what direction it lay. He could now apply what he had got to a fresh sphere, and the University-tactician grew into the Church's statesman.

Laud is our last specimen of a very dominant class once—the class of statesmen-ecclesiastic. The character is not a popular one at the present day; and we do not know whether, in the present state of society, such a union of positions is natural or desirable. In ages of the Church's power, the Church is naturally more political than she is in her ages of weakness. Genuine ecclesiastical influence, imbibed, and felt, and acting over society, forms a suitable atmosphere for an ecclesiastical statesman, when another state of opinion does not. In the middle ages, temporal power was actually put into the Church's hands by the world. The world liked to have its statesmen priests, and priests accordingly became its statesmen. The combination was a natural phenomenon of the day, as much as feudalism and chivalry; particular classes were jealous of the Church, but the state of opinion, as a whole, put power—political temporal power—into her hands. She found herself in possession of it; she could not help exerting a vast overwhelming influence with respect to all sorts of subjects, ecclesiastical and secular, upon the public mind. She was a spiritual society indeed, but she was also an actual living and human one, in intimate contact with the world, and her exertion and interference in the social system was called for and expected. With power *de facto* lodged in her, she was responsible for what became of it, and her natural course was to administer it herself, instead of letting it get into worse hands. The case is different when the Church is weak; the effort would be artificial. She does not strain after power, and snatch it eagerly out of the world's hands; she does not care for it on her own account; and therefore, if the world does not voluntarily give it her, she does not seek for it. She administers it if she has it, but she does not want to have it, if people do not want to give it. She does not accept it from reluctant hands, or legislate for a jealous and mistrusting age.

Laud, in his day, just saw the last remaining vestiges of the old system: the vitality gone, the case still partially existing. The form of the old idea of the statesman-ecclesiastic survived. The age rested under the last shadow of the mediæval empire; and the times in which Bishops were set at the political helm, and the Stapledons, the Wykehams, and the Wainfleets of the day were

our Lord High Chancellors and Lord High Treasurers, had still a faint reflection in the position which even the post-reformation prelates occupied in the English Court, the seats in the privy council, the employment on the foreign embassy. A class of higher clergy were a good deal about Court, and took their share in public matters; not as interlopers in the scene, but as if they were at home, and in their natural place: public opinion maintained them there. Minds have their favourite aspects in which they realize particular truths: Laud realized the Church's greatness under this one. A mixture of motives rivetted Laud's eye in this direction. He had caught the particular mediæval idea of the Church's position, as a political estate, an heiress, by a divine nobility of birth, to the world's honours and elevations. The half conscious idea ran in his thoughts perpetually; and incidental acts and expressions show the image in his mind—the form of a Church which haunted him—a sacerdotal political form of a Church in power, her orders nobility, her prelates pillars of the State. He saw dignity and grandeur upon her, a splendid ritual, grave munificence and hospitality, the stamp of venerable power on her brow, and profound homage bending the knee to her. A genuine hierarchical taste vented itself in the mediæval combination, and the priestly idea took the heightening feudal colour and political expression of itself. It is a mistake to charge him with ambition: the feeling was totally different from ambition. A sense of a particular vocation, and the natural tendency of a set of tastes to get scope and exercise, carried him toward the position of statesman-ecclesiastic: but the position had its charm as the expression of an idea, and not as the gratification of a personal aim. His own elevation put his own theory into execution; and he realized the exaltation of his Church in that of himself. He had every bit as much pleasure in putting Juxon into the office of Lord Treasurer, or Archbishop Spottiswoode into the Scotch Chancellorship, as he had in any public preferment of his own. His track was to be recognised everywhere by the elevation of the Church and Clergy. The feeling amounted to a species of poetry in him: the poetical element in his mind took the ecclesiastical form, and pictured the revival of the Church's greatness and splendour. 'The Church has been low these hundred years, but I hope it will flourish again in another hundred,' was a saying of his remembered against him at his trial. A fancy, and a fond dream it may have been: the age was not in keeping with the aim, and it was cut short—still it was a disinterested dream if it was one; and he turned it into a most effective stimulus, and invigorated himself by it. Whether true or not it was a useful one. He seems to have doubted it, mis-

trusted it himself; still there it was—it stood before him, and he followed it. It was something to follow at any rate, something to have before him; it appeared, it shone: the phantom was majestic, even if it was a phantom. It led him on through stage after stage of his work: a mediæval glow terminated the dark laborious vista; and the plodder's slow subterranean passage had an inward poetry to illuminate and relieve it.

The poetical feeling did not at all supersede the strict utilitarian one. The Regale was the great centre of power in that day, both in Church and State; the Court the very first and most necessary instrument for the objects of the Church-reformer. He was obliged to work his way at Court, to get any of the practical acting power of the nation into his hands. A hundred other things he ought to be perhaps, but a courtier he must be; he must gain access to the great political lever, if he was to put a finger on the ecclesiastical. The ins and outs of Court were an essential part of his experience, and the whole order of things went to domiciliate him first at the focus of the nation, in order to obtain any spread of his influence over the general surface. Laud wanted to gain some ground on which he could work upon the nation; he wanted ways and means, facilities, sources of weight, and a whole machinery for producing effects. He fixed his eye on the Court as offering such resources, such machinery. A natural turn for the exercise of power, for tactics, and *managing*,—so strong a taste in a mind that feels itself to have it—sympathized with this object; and the whole political element in Laud's character mingled with the enthusiastic in taking him to a yet unexplored mine of influence and labour—the Court.

The Stuarts had just ascended the English throne, when Laud made his first entrance into Court, in the capacity of king's chaplain—a situation which his patron, Bishop Neil, procured for him, very soon after his election to the Presidency of St. John's. The Stuarts brought with them a very different character to the throne, and to the English Regale, from the Tudor Elizabeth's—a much less imperial and a much more amiable one, better tendencies and less firmness; a temper weak and difficult to keep up to the mark when raised there, but very accessible to influence in the first instance. Elizabeth, made up as she was of caprices and humours, kept up the great family trait with an iron uniformity; hated the puritans, but ground down the Church, and with all her high-church whims, was the very reverse of the character that is subject to Church influence. The Stuart character was open to this influence. Fresh charged with a highly unfavourable experience of puritanism in Scotland, and without the deepset erastian pride of the Plantagenets

in their nature to stiffen them against the Church at starting, they were open ground, and invited cultivation. Laud gave it. He elicited the favourable traits, fastened their predilections, and marked out their line. The great monarchical families of European history seem to have all had their peculiar stamp of character upon them: a Plantagenet is great; a Bourbon is magnificent; a Romanoff is political and adventurous. A more passive character and gentler interest attaches to the name of Stuart; but an interest it is. With all the faults and all the weaknesses of the individuals, enough remains to throw a grace over the dynasty, and race. From the Scotch Mary and her grandson Charles, the victims of a cruel English policy, to the very last of the exiles; history sets them before our eyes in a broken and scattered, but still fascinating colour. The Stuart power ever befriended the Church; and they were the Church's sons when they might have been her foes and oppressors. The pride which is the guilt of the kings of the earth did not belong to their character; their Regale was a religious one; the haughty world frowned upon such half kings, such children in policy, such weak infantine Church dupes. Yet the secret inward Church spell would operate, its very forebodings fascinated and led them on; they hovered around their destiny till it seized them: in an evil hour they left the very communion whom they had nurtured, condemned themselves to melancholy exile, and the Church of England to a reaction of weakness and sterility. They shone like an autumnal sun upon her, and were born for the elevation of our Church and for her depression.

Laud now divided his time between Oxford and the Court, and was penetrating into the upper sphere, while he kept his position in the lower. His progress at court was slow, tedious, and trying; he made no way whatever for a long time. Three years had passed and found him only king's Chaplain still. The black Oxford cloud had followed him, and the pressure of Abbot's archiepiscopate kept him under, and would not let him see daylight. At the end of three years with nothing done and nothing promising, he made up his mind to withdraw from the scene, and return to his simple Oxford headship. However, he told Bishop Neil of his intention; Neil remonstrated; he staid on, and gave the experiment another trial.

Three or four years cleared the prospect a little, and an opening was made: James took notice of him. In 1616 he accompanied James into Scotland. He stood by James's side, and heard pedantic speeches from the Scotch Universities, and listened to James's puns. The king was in capital humour, enjoyed the technicalities and pomps of a progress, made jokes on the Scotch Professors' names, and argued points of ritual. Years ago Laud had seen James on his

favourite stage. The king's manor at Woodstock brought him into the University region; he 'graciously received the Vice-Chancellor of Oxon. together with the doctors, proctors, and 'heads of houses, at his manor of Woodstock.' The invitation was returned, and the king on his part 'accepted a solemn invitation from the University, and performed in all manner of 'scholastic exercises, divinity, law, physic, and philosophy; in 'all of which he showed himself of such great abilities, that he 'might have governed in those chairs as well as all or any of his 'three professors.' Times had changed certainly on a more recent visit of royalty to the place; and George IV. did not adopt his erudite predecessor's model: whether frightened by a more formidable show of scholastic criticism and power, in the divinity professors of the present day than what the latter had to encounter, or for any other reason, we cannot say. James's was a harmless and simple style of affectation after all: it showed itself frankly, and had no concealments. He liked theology, and he liked mulled wine: he liked both for his own amusement and as pleasing cordials and recreations. He was of the nature of a puss in boots, and carried a flattering consciousness of the regal *cothurnus* about with him. The grace of the Stuart-character took a leap from the mother to the grandson, and passed over the personage in the middle. A more comfortable life than that of either, gave him the balance for the loss in a shape which he particularly appreciated; and he was amply compensated for a rather ungainly and ridiculous mediocrity of character by not having to fight, and not being beheaded. On the present occasion he was quite himself, and Laud had the benefit of his royal self-complacency. James, with the usual awkwardness, which always made him choose the most offensive form of speech for a suggestion, told the Scotch divines that 'he had brought some 'English theologians to enlighten their minds.'

Laud wedged his passage further and further through the dense mass, and found himself at last approaching something like a centre, and penetrating within the inner circle, in which stood the great man himself—the wielder of court power, the dispenser of court favours—Buckingham. A proximity once begun became rapidly closer, till the two fairly met, and Laud and Buckingham made a coalition.

The connexion of Laud and Buckingham is one of those odd juxtapositions, which people ordinarily account for by supposing an inconsistency in one or both of the parties in it. We do not think this necessary, at the same time fully recognising its striking, pungent, and comic grotesqueness. Laud and Buckingham, the grave Oxford scholar and the light-hearted 'Favourite,'—the very plume of court chivalry, and bright

flourish of silk mantle and rapier and white feather, dashing manner frankness ease, swordsmanship duelling and dancing; and the stiff-set ecclesiastical figure, the physiognomy in the square cap, side by side, is certainly a picture! Buckingham is an odd companion and intimate for Laud, it is true: but then it is also true that men will form strange friendships when they have a public object in view. The public man, purely political or ecclesiastical, is forced upon a different class of connexions to what he would have had in private life, his very vocation brings him across the person, whoever he may be, who is the key to certain means and resources, the medium of approach to the particular position he wants. He finds him necessary; he makes himself convenient. The bargain is struck, and we have a political friendship formed; so far a political one only. However, once brought into connexion with him, upon whatever ground, the man is seen, the man is known: if he has fine qualities, they are recognised; and the mere fact of his company, places him in a favourable relation to you. Much intercourse between two persons, however it may have originated, if it only as a matter of fact takes place, must have its consequences: and if parties do not get to hate each other, they naturally get to like each other. Mutual convenience produces mutual heart. These mixed relations are in fact the commonest ones in the world, and persons are every day forming the private friendship upon the public. An ecclesiastical object brought Laud into contact with Buckingham, but being brought into contact with him, he saw, knew, and liked him. There was a great deal to like in Buckingham. Spoilt child of a Court, as he was, his mind had a generosity, openness, and transparency of its own. Clarendon mentions his entire 'want of dissimulation.'

To have much to do with persons of wholly different mould from yourself, is no enviable situation. However Laud may have taken to the work and got himself to like persons,—and Buckingham, he really was fond of,—the friendship was a creation of his own out of incongruous material, and was a work of mental art and labour. Endurance, vigilance, and self-command were implied in it. Charles, Strafford, and others, are not to be named with Buckingham; but they are instances of the same power in Laud; of wholly different stamped minds to his own, which one after another he got hold of. An ordinary temper does not like the exertion: it throws off another as soon as ever a symptom of incongeniality arises, and will not bear the burden of an external mind. The vicinity of difference is a yoke, and only another self is comfortable. A larger sympathy is more under discipline and command; is patient of

barriers, and allows whole tracts of difference within its scope and domain. It sees through exteriors, surmounts obstacles, and bears the presence of the incongenial feature for the sake of the congenial one by its side.

It would be injustice to Laud and Buckingham's friendship, not to mention one point in it. The priest and the politician were joined in the knot which bound the two; and Laud was Buckingham's confessor. The commotions and intrigues of the court arena and the life diplomatical, which bore the great noble and the ecclesiastic along together, covered a deeper relation. A politician of the present day may think the combination a grotesque one, but it never seems to have entered either into Laud's or Buckingham's head to think it so. The same cabinet walls heard them scheme, and heard them talk religion; and the two statesmen dropped from the political attitude without effort, whenever they chose it, into that of the religious pupil and teacher. Laud, at the proper moment, put off the politician and put on the divine, and was grave and spiritual with the gay splendid duke. 'Whitsunday, June 9,' says the Diary, 'the Marquis of Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a nearer respect unto me, the particulars whereof are not for paper.—June 15, I become C. to my Lord of Buckingham.' 'Confessor,' says Heylyn. The modern biographer of Laud does not like 'confessor,' and makes C. stand for 'chaplain;' but it obviously means confessor: the whole context interprets it so; and Laud, as Bishop of Bath and Wells, as he was then, could hardly become a domestic chaplain to a nobleman. 'On the morrow after,' it follows, 'being Trinity Sunday, the marquis having thus prepared himself received the sacrament at Greenwich.' In the midst of the turmoil of politics, we catch a glimpse of Buckingham on a sick bed, and Laud by his side. 'He was extreme impatient of his fits till Laud came to visit him, by whom he was so charmed and sweetened, that at first he endured his fits with patience, and by that patience did so break their heats and violence, that at last they left him.' Laud improved the occasion, and made Buckingham take in a considerable share of theology. He was made to understand distinctions—to see the doctrinal differences between the Puritans and the Church. 'The duke had a desire to learn the heads of doctrinal Puritanism, and he served him in it.' The treasury was desperately empty, and a project was on foot to alienate the lands of the Charterhouse, for the maintenance of the army. Laud dissuaded Buckingham from it. The notices in the Diary let us into a department altogether behind the scenes, and odd mysterious fragments come across us; 'Jan. 11. My Lord of Buckingham and I in the inner chamber at York House. *Quod est Deus Salvator noster Jesus Christus;*'

a Sunday-night talk on the supernatural world:—‘The discourse which my lord duke had with me about witches and ‘astrologers.’ Buckingham was a mixture. The man of gaiety and court license had a religious element in his character, and was deeply attached to a devout mother. The Roman Catholics tried to turn the family stream into their own church. Laud kept the duchess back a long time, and brought her back once, but she slipped his hold at last. The duke was near following his mother. The prayers in the Breviate, ‘*pro Duce Buckinghamie*’ show the religious interest which Laud took in him. He seems to have had a pleasure in eliciting what religion there was in the naturally generous but wild soil, to have wished to make his fascinating scholar as good a boy as might be, to have had a quiet power over him, and been able to calm, soothe, and attract the wayward mind of the princely child.

The alliance of Laud and Buckingham once struck up, Laud was always at his side, was his adviser and assister, helped him through the scrape, supplied his place by the royal ear when he was gone, kept up his influence, and prevented rivals starting. Ciphers and mysterious signs passed between them, and an invisible cabinet enclosed the pair. Laud did not do anything by halves; and once a politician, he threw himself into the character. He entered deep into court struggles; into diplomacy, domestic and foreign; watched parliament, and watched the king. He got a good share of the duke’s odium, and the affair of the Spanish match, and the expedition of Charles and Buckingham into Spain, brought popular feeling upon him. James’s policy then was to please the Pope, who was to grant the dispensation for the match. The English recusants were consequently let off their fines; and the expressions of the royal controversialist, on the point of the Pope being Antichrist, were explained—he had only made the assertion argumentatively. The relief and the explanation were attributed to Laud, and the Spanish journey was reported to be a stratagem to convert the prince to Popery.

The crown was in perpetual want of money, and a war, or other extraordinary event, made national loans necessary. Laud, as the term was, ‘tuned the pulpits,’ a practice of Elizabethan origin: and the clergy received their instructions to lay before their congregations the hard case of ‘our dear uncle, the King of Denmark, just brought into great straits by General Tilly,’ who would be exceedingly obliged to them for liberal contributions to his cause, in which they were so extremely interested. The German Emperor was made the bugbear, and a break up of the balance of power, and a German march over the Continent, were predicted to the auditors, if his present designs on Den-

mark succeeded; 'for if the Emperor of Austria once get Germany, he will be able, though he had no gold from India, to supply the necessity of those wars, and to hinder all trade and traffic of the greatest staple commodities of this kingdom, cloth and wool, and so make them of little or no value.' The majority of auditors would probably feel their connexion with Denmark but feebly, but the last appeal would, at any rate, tell on the imagination.

The secret ramifications of political life now begin to spread, and his feelers extend over the ground, touch here and there, and find out this man and the other. Connexions widen underground, and a mysterious world of acquaintance forms, and we explore with him the parts behind the scenes of the political stage. Alphabetical personages appear in the pages of his Diary, E. B., and C. D., A. H., and S. and T., with whom he has interviews, private engagements, compacts, pledges given and taken, and an issue awaited. A taste for the Eleusinian chambers, and hidden strata, of statesmanship, is a characteristic of Laud's; and his course to the last is perpetually dipping under, or retiring behind a screen, or sounding some depth, or following some cavernous winding. He, and the unknown X. Y. or Z., are seen in an obscure corner of the stage, standing together in mysterious attitude; and what they are talking about nobody knows; but it seems to be on some matter of deep interest to them, and signs and looks pass, and their faces have a serious expression. And they seem sometimes as if they could not understand one another, and parted in displeasure. 'My unfortunatenesses with T.—with S. S., M. S.'—'Ill hap with E.'—or, 'There I first knew what F. H. thought of me.' The balance is long trembling with K. B.—'May 29. My meeting and settling upon express terms with K. B., in the gallery at Greenwich, in which business God bless me.'—'Jan. 1. My being with K. B. this day, in the afternoon, troubled me much. God send me a good issue out of it.' There is a change, and 'K. B. and I came unexpectedly to a clearer declaration of ourselves, which God bless;' and then a relapse—'K. B. and I meet—the lowest ebb that ever I saw. I go away much troubled.' Another meeting, and 'All settled well again;' another, and 'An absolute settlement between me and K. B.' He notes down when he first saw a man, and when he begins to know him; and when he knows him better; and the mystic scale of sympathy has every line marked. These corners spring up everywhere, and he is in contact with half the Alphabet at once, with the ubiquity of a ghost—'*hic et ubique*,' would Hamlet have said—'a worthy pioneer—rest, rest, perturbed spirit.' He lives in a prolific world of occult life, and individual influences and

conjunctions; and a diplomatic astrology spreads its filmy web over the scene.

Laud stood fast by Buckingham in his parliamentary battles, made him an able adviser, and, it is said, wrote his speeches. In the parliament of 1626, both houses, Commons and Lords, were combined against him: the Earl of Bristol attacked him in the upper house: the whole regiment of lawyers in the lower. 'Glanville, Herbert, Selden, Pym, Wansford, and Sherland managed the case; the prologue was made by Sir Dudley Diggs, the epilogue by Sir John Eliot.' He was accused of engrossing offices, buying the places of lord admiral, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports, and of not guarding the seas when he had got them; of 'staying the St. Peter of Newhaven, and the East India fleet, and lending the Vantguard to the French at the siege of Rochelle; of selling honours and offices, procuring honours to his kinsfolk, of diminishing the revenues of the crown; and, lastly, applying physic to King James, in the time of his sickness.' Buckingham's answer to this curious House of Commons mixture of charges was cautious, temperate, and humble; strong in denying all particular facts, but balancing the denial with general professions of humility, and acknowledgments of deficiency. 'He acknowledged how easy a thing it was to him in his younger years, and inexperienced, to fall into thousands of errors. But still he hoped the fear of God, his sincerity in the true religion established in the Church of England (though accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confess), his carefulness not willingly to offend so good and gracious a master, and his love and duty to his country, had restrained and preserved him from running into any heinous misdemeanors and crimes. For his own part, he both hoped, and would daily pray, that for the future he might so watch over all his actions, both public and private, as not to give cause of just offence to any person.' Buckingham's new appearance in the penitential character astonished people not a little; the line of defence had not the look of being wholly a self-suggested one, and the sagacious immediately detected Laud's hand underneath. The speech, however, answered its purpose, and gained and softened many. 'The answer of the Duke,' says a contemporary, 'was so inlaid with modesty and humility, that it became a new grievance to his adversaries, and was like to have a powerful influence toward the conversion of many who expected a defence of another and more disdainful spirit.'

Two envious eyes, meantime, were fixed on the alliance; and Laud, cabined with Buckingham, was an intolerable eyesore

to the old Oxford enemy, Abbot, and the Lord Keeper Williams. 'There he sits,' says Abbot, 'privately whole hours with 'Buckingham, feeding his humours with malice and spite.' Abbot was the disgusted Puritan. Williams, calm and serpentine, writhed under the feelings of a supplanted rival.

Williams had long felt Laud in his way: on one occasion especially, when Abbot's unfortunate shot in Lord Zouch's Park at Bramsall, seemed to open a road to the primacy. Abbot became by that act 'a man of blood,' and fell under canonical disabilities. James, who enjoyed a theme of canonical disputation, instituted with promptness a commission, composed of bishops, judges, and doctors of laws, to sit on the offender; and while the unfortunate criminal retired to melancholy solitude in his native town Guildford, a variety of opinions were given. Sir Edward Coke looked on the matter with a lawyer's eye. On the question being propounded, 'Whether a Bishop might lawfully hunt in 'his own, or in any other park' (in which point lay the greatest pinch of the present difficulty), that most profound lawyer returned this answer thereunto; viz. 'That by the law a Bishop 'at his death was to leave his pack of dogs (by the French 'called *Morte de chiens*, in some old records) to be disposed 'of by the king at his will and pleasure. And if the king was 'to have the dogs when the bishop died, there was no question 'to be made, but that the bishop might make use of them 'when he was alive.' Williams most characteristically wished to be lenient, but also wished for the Primacy, to which he looked forward on the first vacancy; and his letter was a model of significant ambiguity:—'I wish with all my heart his 'Majesty would be as merciful as ever he was in his life; but 'yet I hold it my duty to let his Majesty know, that his Majesty 'is fallen upon a matter of great advice and deliberation. To add 'affliction unto the afflicted is against the King's nature: To 'leave *virum sanguineum*, a man of blood, primate and patriarch 'of all his churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old 'councils and canons of the Church. The Papists will not 'spare to descant upon the one and the other. I leave the 'knot for his Majesty's deep wisdom to advise and resolve 'upon.' Laud and Bishop Andrewes thought Williams much the more formidable person of the two, and kept Abbot in his see, to prevent Williams getting it.

Cool and keen, absolutely unprincipled, and as slippery as an eel, Laud had a sort of dread of Williams, as of some subtle, malicious animal. He did not show it; but in his Diary Williams's evil eye seems to pursue him. 'Oct. 3, Friday. I 'was with my Lord Keeper; he was very jealous of L. B.'s 'favour.—Dec. 14. Tuesday night I did dream that the Lord

'Keeper was dead; that I passed by one of his men that was
 'about a monument for him. This dream did trouble me.—
 'Dec. 27, St. John's day. I was with my Lord of Buckingham.
 'I found that all went not right with my Lord Keeper.—
 'Jan. 25. It was Sunday. I was alone, and languishing with
 'I know not what sadness. I was much concerned with the
 'envy and undeserved hatred borne to me by the Lord Keeper.
 'I took into my hands the Greek Testament, that I might read
 'the portion of the day. I lighted upon the thirteenth chapter
 'to the Hebrews, wherein that of David, Psalm lvi., occurred
 'to me, then grieving and fearing: *The Lord is my helper: I will*
 '*not fear what man can do unto me.* I thought an example was
 'set to me, and who is not safe under that shield? Protect me,
 'O Lord my God!—Feb. 18, Wednesday. My Lord of Buck-
 'ingham told me of the reconciliation and submission of my
 'Lord Keeper, and that it was confessed unto him his favour to
 'me was the chief cause. *Invidia quo tendis? &c. At ille de*
 '*novo fœdus pepigit.*' Williams now lay in wait, and Laud had
 to watch him narrowly. He made some attempts at under-
 mining Buckingham, during the Spanish journey, which were
 failures: Laud, says Heylin, 'was not asleep.' He was nearer
 success on the next occasion. The parliament of 1625 wanted
 to make an example of some great official—the fashionable par-
 liamentary game then: Cranfield had been tried the parliament
 before; Bacon, the one before that. Williams now seemed a
 proper person to take in hand: he emulated Wolsey almost as a
 pluralist; being Lord Keeper, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of
 Westminster, besides livings and prebendal stalls. He managed
 most artfully to convert his own danger into a gratification of his
 spleen. Parliament were more particular about their sport, than
 about the object of it: he recommended them Buckingham.
 The humility of the ground assigned was impressive: the
 Great Duke 'was a more noble prey, and fitter for such mighty
 'hunters than a silly priest.' Parliament took the hint, and
 'the great game was no sooner started, but they followed it
 'with such an outcry, that the noise thereof came presently
 'to his Majesty's ears.' Indeed, they were only torn from their
 prey by a dissolution.

Abbot meantime was surly and angry, called names, opposed
 for opposition's sake, and had his revenge as long as he could by
 keeping Laud out of the High Commission. The royal subsidies
 fell with disproportionate weight on the poorer clergy, and
 Laud had a scheme of relieving them, and Buckingham, as the
 representative of the State, agreed to it. The plan aimed
 at nothing more than this, and was no party effort whatever;
 even Williams concurring in it. Laud took it to Abbot

for his approval, and was roughly asked, 'What he had to do to make any suit for the Church; that never any bishop attempted the like before, and that nobody would have done it but himself; that he had given the Church such a wound in speaking to any lord of the laity about it, as he would never make whole again.' He replied, very quietly, 'that he thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and so did his betters too: that if his Grace thought otherwise he was sorry he had offended; but that he hoped he had done it out of a good mind; and for the support of many poor vicars abroad in the country; and, therefore, that his error might be pardonable, if it were an error.' Abbot played the churl; and Laud's disciplined courtesy and humility always put him in the wrong, and unseated him.

Laud's line towards opponents was the quiet effective one; not hurried or importunate, catching at advantages, leaping to success. At Oxford and at Court the same, one strong but quiet course, temper, vigilance, and perseverance, put aside obstacles, and cleared the road to power. Adversaries found themselves gradually displaced without the violence of an assault, and a moving influence insensibly elbowed and sidled them out of the field. The union of Buckingham and Laud was a nucleus of strength, creating a widening circle and atmosphere of its own around it. With his hold upon the centre, he was necessarily from his position the rising man. Williams bit at his heels, lay in ambush, crouched, and made his spring; he was suffered to go on opposing impeding and undermining, till his efforts became open, and he had fairly revealed himself: a disgrace at Court then ensued, and he retired to his diocese. Abbot growled morosely from his palace at Lambeth at the growing power, but he could only show his temper, and could do nothing. A cloud was upon him, and his name was tarnished. He retired savagely before the advancing power, scowling and muttering as he went; shut himself up in his palace with Calvinist chaplains, and secretaries, and gathered the disaffected around him. Midnight conclaves and a sepulchral focus and glare of Calvinism lit up the gloomy interior of Lambeth. Towards his death,' says Heylyn, 'he was not only discontented himself, but his house was the rendezvous of all the malcontents in Church and State; that he turned midnight into noonday by constant keeping of candles lighted in his chamber and study; as also that such visitants as repaired unto him called themselves Nicodemites, because of their secret coming to him by night.' An uncomfortable inauspicious shade covers the character of the puritanical Archbishop, and he moves off the scene like a magician to his fastness, or a wild

animal to its den. The keeper's ghost gibbered through his silent halls. The dark vapour gathered itself up and withdrew reluctantly from the incongenial sky. His death removed an evil eye from the scene, and Laud saw the career of one of his great opponents out; but he had not seen the last of Williams.

Meantime Laud had been the ecclesiastic, had risen to one post after another, the Deanery of Gloucester, the Bishopric of St. David's, Bath and Wells, and London, successively; and been active in Church restorations, and in the fiscal and other external departments of Church administration. As Dean of Gloucester he gave a specimen of what he wanted to do in Church external worship, and mortally offended the Bishop, Dr. Miles Smith, the great Hebrician, and one of the Bible translators; who 'protested unto the Dean and some of the 'prebends, that if such innovations were brought into that 'cathedral, he would never come more within those walls; 'which promise or protestation he is said to have made good, 'and not to have come within that church to his dying day.' The Bishop was certainly 'a man of great pertinacity' if he kept his word,—'the alteration being made in the decline of 'the year 1616, his palace standing near the walls of that 'cathedral, and he not dying till the year 1624, which was eight 'years after.'

His episcopal journeys in his Welch diocese do not appear to have had the advantage of the comfortable smoothness of modern roads. — 'August 24, Wednesday. The festival of 'St. Bartholomew. I came safely (thanks be to God) to my 'own house at Aberguille, although my coach had been twice 'that day overturned between Abermarkes and my house. 'The first time I was in it, but the second time it was empty.' His new chapel at Aberguilly comes in, in the Diary. His active ecclesiastical eye, meantime, was carried up and down, and everywhere over the kingdom; and from the public centre where he lived, he suggested plans of church improvements, and threw out hints, acted much in the capacity of Archbishop, in Abbot's retirement, and was, in fact, virtual Archbishop before he actually succeeded to the place.

Laud was in a position now to rise to the top, at the first regular opening: and the head which had long guided in the background only waited for the call of circumstances to place it in the front. A melancholy opening arrived: the Duke of Buckingham's assassination at Portsmouth made a successor necessary; and Laud was called to the head of affairs, and became the chief adviser of royalty, or, in the language of the present day, prime-minister. The metropolitan throne became vacant by Abbot's death.

Laud succeeded, as a matter of course, and the salutation of 'My Lord's Grace of Canterbury' was his next greeting from the royal lips. Minor honours flowed in thick. The Chancellorship of Oxford had fallen vacant: Laud succeeded, as a matter of course: circumstances pointed him out. The Chancellorship of Dublin fell vacant: Laud succeeded: circumstances pointed him out. Circumstances pointed him out for posts of power and influence as soon as they fell in. He had made himself necessary, and things could not go on without him. The official development was the natural result of what he had gone through; the evolution of the bud, the necessary expansion of the force and spring that had been collecting. Laud began to smile at his own official ubiquity, and only reluctantly yielded to Strafford's urgency in accepting the last post. 'I think you have a plot to see, he writes, whether I will be *Universalis Episcopus*, that you and your brethren may take occasion to call me Antichrist.' He is amused with Strafford's assuming stiffness to him, and treating him as a great man. 'So you are not well enough acquainted with Lambeth,' he writes. Strafford on his elevation, like a true gentleman, refrained from the ordinary freedom and humour with which he corresponded with Laud, and waited to be invited before he resumed it. Laud rallies him on the subject, 'You are afraid that some sour ghost walks there—you have not given me one word of your wonted recreation.'

Laud now had to act the minister; to entertain kings and nobles, and gather a court scene about him. The stream of public visitors poured in and out of his doors—

———— 'foribus domus alta superbis
Mane salutantum totis vomat ædibus undam.'

The levee, and the interview, the arrival of messengers, and the announcements of important news foreign and domestic, men at arms and horsemen, enlivened and disturbed the interior of Lambeth. He had to wink at some lighter departments of court life. He lived in a court of masques and theatricals, and gay formalities: they were the order of the day, and had succeeded to the tournament and field of arms. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, and Milton's Comus, poetry and sentimentality, sense and nonsense, assumed the masquerading form; and eclogues and bucolics were the vents of courtly humour and taste: princesses figured as shepherdesses, and dukes and barons as herdsmen. Laud was supposed especially to encourage these frivolities by his puritan assailants, and called sharply to account for it. The 'professors' throughout the country set upon him, and reprimanded him for carnality of mind and love of the world. *Prynne's Hystriomastix* came out, and a most

furious piece of vituperation indeed it was, dragging king and court, the queen and her ladies of honour before the bar as shocking and notorious profligates. The four inns of court took the matter up, and determined to show that Prynne did not represent them on this point. 'The gentlemen of the four societies presented their Majesties with a pompous and magnificent masque, to let them see that Prynne's leaven had not soured them all, and that they were not poisoned with the same infection.' The exhibition 'gave such contentment to his sacred Majesty that he desired them to make a representation of it to the city of London.' The masque accordingly was repeated, 'to the delight of the people,' and the principle of masques was triumphantly vindicated, and carried public opinion with it. Laud stood up for them on a utilitarian view. He had been used to them, he said, at St. John's, and could assert that the dramatic exercises were of use to the young men, strengthened the memory, 'trained them in the art of speaking, and taught them confidence.'

As Chancellor of Oxford, an especial act of magnificence devolved upon him. In 1636 he had to go down to Oxford with his retinue of fifty horse, and entertain the king, queen, and court, in his academical domain, which he did with a sumptuousness and splendour that made a sensation. Heylyn's description is written with *goût* :—

'He invited the king and the queen, the prince elector and his brother, to an academical entertainment on the 29th of August, being the anniversary day on which the Presidency of St. John's College was adjudged to him by king James. The time being come and the University put in a posture for that royal visit, their Majesties were first received with an eloquent speech, as he passed by the House, being directly in his way from Woodstock to Christ Church, not without great honour to the college that the Lord Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Proctors should be at that time of the same foundation. At Christ Church his Majesty was entertained with another oration by Strode, the University orator; the University presenting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of gloves (as their custom was) the queen with a fair English Bible, the prince elector with Hooker's books of ecclesiastical polity, his brother Rupert with Cæsar's Commentaries in English, illustrated by the learned explanations and discourses of Sir Clement Edmonds. His Majesty was lodged in Christ Church in the great hall (one of the goodliest in the world). He was entertained, together with the queen, the two princes and the rest of the court, with an English comedy, but such as had

'more of the philosopher than the poet in it, called the "Passions Calmed," or the "Settling of the Floating Islands." On the morrow morning, being Tuesday, he began with a sermon, preached before him in that cathedral from these words of St. Luke—"Blessed is the king that cometh in the name of the Lord." [Whoever the preacher was we do not exactly commend his text. These texts were too much the fashion then.] 'The sermon being ended, the Archbishop as Chancellor of the University calls a convocation, in which he admits the prince elector, his brother prince Rupert, and many of the chiefs of the nobility to the degree of Master of Arts, and that being done attends the king and queen to St. John's College: where in the new gallery of his own building, he entertains the king and queen, the two princes, with all the lords and ladies of the court, at a stately and magnificent dinner; the king and queen sitting at one table at the north end of the room; the two princes, with the lords and ladies at a long table, reaching almost from one end to the other; at which all the gallantry and beauty of the kingdom seemed to meet. After dinner he entertained his principal guests with a pleasant comedy, presented in the public hall; and that being done attends them back again to Christ Church, where they were feasted after supper with another comedy called the "Royal Slave;" the interludes represented with as much variety of scenes and motions, as the great wit of Inigo Jones (surveyor general of his Majesty's works, and excellently well skilled in setting out a court masque to the best advantage) could extend unto. It was the day of St. Felix (as himself observeth) and all things went happily. On Wednesday, the next morning, the court removed, his Majesty going that same night to Winchester, and the Archbishop the same day entertaining all the heads of houses at a solemn feast: order being given at his departure, that the three comedies should be acted again, for the content and satisfaction of the University.'

The affair was successful. Laud was a good manager; internally grumbling however at the great bore and trouble it was, and truly happy when it was over,—well over. 'I will not detain you,' writes Strafford at the time, 'as you are busied with small matters at Oxford.' 'Tis most true,' replies Laud, with the feeling of a recent experience, 'the matters are small in themselves, but to me they have been great. I am most heartily glad they are over.'

But though masques and entertainments were not exactly in Laud's line, he had, as a genuine patron of learning and literature, a common ground with a well-informed Court, and an accomplished and literary monarch. The Stuart Court was

clever and intellectual. Charles was a connoisseur in art and a scientific man, liked chemistry, had his laboratory, and experimentalized. The gallery at Whitehall bid fair to be the first in Europe: the king was himself an artist and handled the brush, and his artistical friendship with Rubens and Vandyke, spread an atmosphere of taste around it. The court was the sphere of natural philosophy, elegance, literature, and art. Laud was no judge of pictures like his friend Strafford, or Charles; but he had thoroughly imbibed the literary tone of the day in his own line. He found out men of learning, encouraged the growth of recondite information, collected manuscripts and coins; sent out Pocock to the east. He enriched the library at Oxford with Hebrew, Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Armenian, Chinese, Greek, Italian, French, Latin, and old English manuscripts. He endowed a professorship of Arabic, and annexed a canonry to the professorship of Hebrew; and another canonry to the public oratorship, as a stimulus to the art of rhetoric. He procured for the Universities the privilege of printing bibles, which had hitherto been engrossed by the king's stationers. He set the Oxford press going on a more systematic plan, and set up a Greek press in London. His idea of a University was an enlarged one, a place of *generale studium*, a general field of learning and science; and his mind went upon the large basis, of encouraging and appreciating all departments, and all sorts of men, even where he had no acquaintance of his own with the subject.

Laud's court line, indeed, and liberal view of society, brings occasionally men to Lambeth that make us rather stare. Court wits of a brilliant, but rather lax stamp, found their way there, and Lord Conway seems to have had a particular *penchant* for the Archbishop. The mixed external connexion with men of the world was carried on a large scale, and he was ready for anybody that came. And a great many did come, and court jokers carried themselves and their jokes to Lambeth, and jostled with the men of business and secretaries. All made a whole together, and went into his reservoir.

An esoteric life accompanied the public one in Laud. It is the peculiar calling of some devotional minds to be able to throw themselves into the character of the able man of the world, as a distinct phase of mind which does not affect its real internal state. The mediæval prelates were politicians because they were churchmen, and the ascent to power and the atmosphere of a court did not interfere with true sacerdotal sanctity. Laud's devotional character was of the peculiarly ecclesiastical mould—formal and systematic, simple and penitential. The bible in his study, with the five wounds of Christ upon the binding, the gift of a religious

lady, which was brought up against him at his trial—his feeling for the crucifix—his chapels, oratories, consecrations of churches and altars, sacramental chalices—his bowings, prostrations before the altar—his constant references to saints' days—his almsgiving, fasting, canonical hours of devotion—his prejudice for clerical celibacy—show that peculiar religious shape of mind. "Seven times a day do I pray unto Thee, because of Thy righteous judgments." The seven hours of the Church were his hours of prayer, and gave, constantly recurring short respites and pauses to his life of intense activity. His first act as a parish priest was to apportion an annual allowance from the living to twelve poor men. The poor of Reading were especially in his thoughts. 'Jan. 1.' we read in the Diary, 'The way to do the town of Reading good for their poor, which may be compassed by God's blessing upon me, though my wealth be small; and I hope God will bless me in it, because it was His own motion in me; for this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much beaten them about) till this night, as I was at my prayers. Amen, Lord.' The poor at Lambeth fed upon his charity, and assembled in hundreds to take their farewell of him when he was summoned to his trial. There is an appearance of simple interest in his poor flock there, in the way in which he casually notices the 'great wind at Lambeth,' and how 'many of the poor watermen at Lambeth had their boats tumbled up and down, and broken in pieces.' The Lent fast was specially observed in the household at Lambeth, and the Lords of the High Commission heard his regrets that the 'merit of fasting' had so died away in the country.

A deeply penitential tone appears in his religious memoranda. The memory of one ecclesiastical offence that he had committed at a very early part of his life, stuck to him to the last, and the day on which he had, contrary to the Church's canons, married Lord Mountjoy to the divorced Lady Rich (St. Stephen's day), was observed as an annual day of fasting and humiliation. Lord Mountjoy had fallen deeply in love with that lady, when her family compelled her to marry Lord Rich; and the result was unfaithfulness on her part, and a divorce. Laud was a young clergyman then; he yielded to urgent entreaties, and married the guilty pair. Prynne, who could not understand the strong language of self-condemnation which a sensitive conscience is apt to use before God in prayer or in private memoranda, thought that some horrible, unutterable crime was alluded to in the expressions of guilt and anguish with which Laud referred to this act. 'My cross about the Earl of Devon's marriage, Dec. 26, 1605. Die Jovis.—*O Deus meus, respice, servum tuum et miserere mei secundum viscera*

'misericordiæ tuæ'—it is his Latin prayer—'I am become a scandal to Thy name, serving my own ambition, others' sins. Others persuaded, but my own conscience loudly forbade me. Let not this marriage divorce my soul from Thy bosom. Ah! how much better had I suffered martyrdom with Thy proto-martyr upon his commemoration day, than done the pleasure of too faithless, careless friends. I promised myself darkness in my crime, but lo! it flew out; I became more open than the daylight. So didst Thou choose, of Thy undeserved mercy to me, to fill my face with shame, that I might learn to seek Thy name. Even to this day, after so often-repeated prayers, and sorrow and confusion of soul, again and again poured out before Thee, my sin weighs heavily.' The prayer goes on to allude to another sin 'which, on the very same day of the year, I fell into, not made humble or cautious enough by the first. I am not stoned for my sins, but stoned by them. Now raise me up again, that I die no more, but live, and living rejoice in Thee.' Some particular sin marks two other days in his book of devotions. 'Julii 28, 1617. Die Lunæ.'—and below is added, 'Et Martii 6, 1641. I wandered out of my way from Thee into a foul and strange path. Thou madest me see both my folly and my weakness.' Dangers and accidents which happened gave him the idea that he had committed some sins of which God was reminding him; that he had not been living strictly enough, and that these were calls to greater strictness and severity with himself.—'St. John's College on fire under the staircase in the chaplain's chamber, by the library. Sept. 26 and July 28, days of observation to me. *O misericors Pater, quo me certam.* I, who going out and coming in, have sinned against Thee. *Abii cum prodigo prodigus in longinquam regionem. Dissipavi substantiam meam, tuam luxuriose.* Then first I felt all spent, and me meet only for the companionship of swines. Yet did not even that unclean life, and famine of Thy grace, make me think of returning. Returned from an inauspicious journey, lo! now, Thy judgments, Lord, pursue me. The fire catches the roof under which I dwell. The Lord heard, and was wroth: so the fire was kindled in Jacob, and there came up heavy displeasure against Israel. For my wickedness, I doubt not, conflagration threatened my college and me; for while I was intent on extinguishing the fire, I had very near risk of being extinguished by it. But lo! Thy mercy, O Lord, snatched me by a miracle out of the flame; for while a friendly hand by me pulled me by force away, the spot where else I was going to put my foot burst out with the flame; the stairs sank, and I should have gone with them. *O peccata mea, nunquam satis deflenda! O misericordia tua, Domine,*

'*nunquam satis prædicanda ! O pœnitentia nunquam mihi magis necessaria ! O Gratia tua, Domine, humillime et jugiter imploranda !* I rise, O Lord and Father, I come : with slow and feeble step I come, I confess to Thee. Make me what Thou wilt, but only Thine ; and as the terror of that instant did, so let its memory ever burn out the dregs and refuse of my sins, and be within me a fire of charity and devotion, flaming up with flames of love to Thee.'—'Feb. 5, 1628, [he broke a sinew on a journey,] *'die Martis tendonem fregi, et iter.'* The Latin prayer explains. He has the Augustinian way of putting the account of his accidents in the form of addresses to God. '*O Domine Misericors*, Thy blessed name be glorified. As I was travelling with the king upon duty, forgetful of Thee and human accidents, and full of self-confidence, I trod upon treacherous earth, and broke my sinew. I was lifted into a carriage, and taken to Hampton. My nerves felt excruciating torture. I should have certainly fallen into a raging fever, had not an efflux of blood relieved me. I laboured under great weakness, and walked lame for two years. I feel some infirmity still ; but, immortal thanks to Thee, O most blessed Trinity, Thou didst restore me the perfect use of my feet, and strengthened my goings. Direct them now, O Lord, in the way of Thy commandments, that I halt not between the world and Thee. I will run the way of Thy testimonies, when Thou hast set my heart at liberty. Defer not, I pray, my heart's liberty, my foot's establishment in Thy righteousness.'

There is something in his dreams which looks the same way. Fragmentary, queer, and grotesque as they are, they have a simple sweetness in them at times which make them look like signs of the man : they breathe an amiableness of heart, unfold a quiet devotional scenery, and have an ethical air about them. It is rather an indulgent sentiment, but we are inclined to say that good dreams are much truer signs of a man than bad dreams are ; that the one do not tell against him in at all the same proportion in which the others tell in his favour. We think good people may have bad dreams, be in a passion, and behave themselves extravagantly and outrageously in their sleep ; but that bad people cannot well have good ones. There are certain ideas and forms of feeling which come out in dreams, which cannot come out there if the mind itself has them not in the first instance ; moral scenes which the mind could not enter into and appreciate even in sleep, unless it had an internal taste for them. Dreams indeed, to quote Lands own dictum, 'are not in the power of him that hath them, but in the unruliness of the fancy, which in broken sleep wanders which way it pleases, and shapes what it pleases ;' but they

may at the same time be unconscious indications of character, the more genuine even for being so. The favoured sleeper sees forms and countenances before him in winning attitudes and expressions, friendly faces of living or departed, figures smiling or beckoning, standing, or leaning, or passing by, or in quiet domestic circle, or in garden group around him;—visitors they seem from a calmer world, yet not sepulchral but genial ones; he feels at home, he looks around him, or goes up to one and then another with modest curiosity; he follows the moving imagery, and imbibes the dream's pictorial solaces and calm. True, these dreamy creations come of themselves, and he did not raise them, yet they had their origin within and not out of himself, and the mind has a property in them, if it owns and ratifies them in its waking state. The spontaneous scenery, and interior world which sleep lights up, are then its own, and memory appropriates them. The mind dwells afterwards on what it saw, the gentle look, and glance serene, and marvellous expression that drew the eye towards it, and touched an inner spring and finer chord, and called up new and fragrant sensations in the admiring dreaming mind.

We say an affectionate and devotional character appears in Laud's dreams. We mean that if we dropped suddenly upon them any where, and knew nothing of the person, we should say he was a good man—kind and tender-hearted, concerned for those who were connected with him, and were about him. He has his relations, friends, and servants, in his thoughts, and he sees them in his dreams. Friends smile and foes frown upon him in his dreams; and the new friendship and lately-formed connexion with E. B., C. D., and the rest of his mysterious alphabet, is going on well or ill. In either case he dreams about them; and sees the cheering or the saddening look. Dreams are part of his society—vents to his mind, his journal-confidants. They express some deep religious state of mind.—‘Sunday night. My dream of my Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. One of the most comfortable passages I ever had ‘in my life’—or some vague melancholy one—‘I dreamed ‘of the burial of I know not whom, and that I stood by the ‘grave. I awaked sad.’ His father and mother appear to him.—‘Epiphany-eve. In the night I dreamed that my ‘mother, long since dead, stood by my bed, and drawing ‘aside the clothes a little, looked pleasantly upon me; and that ‘I was glad to see her with so merry an aspect. She then ‘showed me a certain old man long since deceased; whom when ‘alive I both knew and loved. He seemed to lie upon the ‘ground, merry enough, but with a wrinkled countenance. His ‘name was Grove. While I was preparing to salute him I

‘awoke.’——‘Jan. 24, Friday. At night I dreamed that my father (who died forty-six years ago) came to me, and to my thinking he was as well and cheerful as ever I saw him. He asked me what I did here? And after some speech I asked him how long he would stay with me? He answered that he would stay till he had me away with him. I am not moved with dreams, yet I thought fit to remember this.’ His old friend King James appears—‘I saw him only passing by swiftly. He was of a pleasant and serene countenance. In passing he saw me, beckoned to me, smiled, and was immediately withdrawn from my sight.’ We encounter the suspicions and apprehensions of public life—‘Dr. Theodore Prince admonished me concerning Ma. 3, and that he was unfaithful to me, and discovered all he knew: and that I should take heed of him and trust him no more’—and its cheerful side—‘Toward the morning I dreamed that L. M. St. came to me the next day, and showed me all the kindness I could ask.’ It follows—‘L. M. St. *did* come to me, and was very kind to me, the next day.’ The dream was fulfilled, but he adds, *‘Somniis tamen haud multum fido.’* A dream about an old servant has a remarkable coincidence attending it.—‘This morning, between four and five of the clock, lying at Hampton Court, I dreamed that I was going out in haste, and that when I had come to my outer chamber, there was my servant Will. Pennel, in the same riding-suit which he had on, on that day sevennight at Hampton Court with me. Methought I wondered to see him (for I left him sick at home), and asked him how he did, and what he made there. And that he answered me he came to receive my blessing; and with that fell on his knees. That herewith I prayed over him, and therewith awaked.’ It follows—‘When I was up I told this to them of my chamber, and added that I should find Pennel dead or dying. My coach came; and when I came home I found him past sense, and giving up the ghost. So my prayers, as they have frequently before, commended him to God.’ Laud’s kind of parental relation for those under him, and feeling for old acquaintances, and old servants, and all about him, is a great feature in him; and we see when—‘my ancient friend Mr. Pearshall,’ dies, and when ‘Mr. Adam Forbes, my ancient, loving, and faithful servant and steward, who had served me full forty-two years, died, to my great loss and grief;’ and when ‘my ancient friend E. R. came and performed great kindnesses to me, which I can never forget.’ And the conversion of Kenelm Digby to Rome is annoying to him on account of the fact, but especially because he never told Laud of his intention beforehand, whose old friendship had a right to know it.

Or we turn to his patronage of religious minds, and anxiety to secure the benefit of their services to the Church—and see him the ordainer of Nicolas Ferrar and George Herbert; putting Jeremy Taylor into All Souls; promoting Cosens and others. He met Herbert at Wilton House, who had been oscillating in his mind long between the Court and the priesthood. A conversation with Laud had the effect immediately of sending for the tailor from Salisbury to cut him out a canonical suit. Cosens's hours of devotion for the court ladies, were an attempt to supply the regularity of devotional exercises which the Roman Catholic ladies about Henrietta Maria had, and take away a religious scandal from the English Court.

His patronage of the Ferrar family, and the devotional establishment at Little Gidding, was marked. We know pretty well what would be thought of such a religious retreat now; a domestic monastery of the strictest rule, where the whole Psalter was recited every twenty-four hours, and prayer never stopped night or day. Nicolas Ferrar slept on bearskin on the boards, in a loose frieze gown, rose always at midnight, and watched in his oratory three nights of the week. We do not want to make invidious comparisons, but would not men in station now be found to look rather coldly upon such a place? and among the mass what suspicions, black looks, ominous gestures, and shakes of the head would arise on the subject. People would be divided between the hypothesis of superstition and insanity to account for the phenomenon: King and Court would not, of course, know of its existence. Imagine, indeed, the royal suite now going out of their way to see such a place—'The King and the Prince, the Palsgrave, the Duke of Lennox, and divers other nobles staying a morning there'—visiting chapel, hall, and looking into all the corners. The younger members of the Court were not quite so grave as their seniors. The 'young lords went into the buttery, and there found 'apple pies and cheese cakes, and came out with pieces in their 'hands, laughing, to the prince; and—"Sir, will your Highness 'taste?"' Charles, especially, admired the old poor widows' alms-houses, and their clean wainscoted well-rubbed rooms—'God's blessing upon the founders of it'—and turning to the Palsgrave, 'Time was you would have thought such a lodging 'not amiss.' The Palsgrave entirely assented. A nice speech accompanied the five gold pieces he then took out of his pocket, for the benefit of the poor widows,—'It is all I have, else they 'should have more,' [these he had won the night before of the Palsgrave, at cards, at Huntingdon, says the document,] 'tell 'them to pray for me.' After walking and talking, His Majesty finds the evening closing in. 'It grows late, the sun is

'going down—we must away.' So 'their horses were brought to the door. The king mounting, those of the family, men and women, all kneeled down, and heartily prayed God to bless and defend him from his enemies.' He took off his hat, 'Pray, pray, for my speedy return again,' he said, and then rode away.

Laud patronized Little Gidding, and showed great affection to young Nicolas Ferrar, who came up to Court with presents of the home-manufactured volumes of the Gidding press, and binding-shop. Annual compliments of this kind passed between Charles and the Ferrars: as soon as he had one book, he was so pleased with it, that he insisted on having another. The 'purple velvet, gilt,' the 'green velvet, gilt,' the 'great broad strings, edged with gold lace, and curiously bound,' were highly appreciated; and 'glorious,' 'diamonds,' 'jewels,' 'precious stones,' 'crystals,' came thick from the royal mouth, as the ornamante was inspected. He read the books, (one was 'A Harmony of the Gospels;' another of the 'Kings and Chronicles,') and made marginal notes. Young Nicolas came up to London on one of these occasions of a presentation, and went straight, as he had directions to do, to 'My Lord of Canterbury.' Conducted into the Archbishop's presence, he 'knelt down, craved his blessing, and kissed his hand.'—'My lord embraced him very lovingly, took him up, and after some 'salutes,' had the book shown him, and was enchanted. Nicolas had to prepare himself for presentation to the King next day. Next day, Maundy Thursday, the Archbishop led his young *protégé* into a room where the king stood by the fire, with many nobles attending him. 'What, have you brought with you those rarities and jewels you told me of?'—'Yes, here is 'the young gentleman and his works.' The Archbishop led him by the hand up to the king; the box was opened, and the whole party were full of admiration. The book was the 'Gospel of our Lord and Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, in eight 'several languages;' all the undivided learning of young Ferrar himself. Charles was astonished, asked the youth's age, and resolved on the spot to send him to Oxford, at his own expense. 'But what a pity,' said Charles, when the youth had retired, 'was that impediment in his tongue!' Laud did not think so; for if the young gentleman had had the full use of his natural tongue, the chance was, he would not have gained so many written ones. Lord Holland recommended pebbles; Charles had tried pebbles himself, and found they did no good; he should learn to sing, and would find singing a good cure.—The same envoy brought a book for Prince Charles, too; the pretty pictures made a great sensation. 'Will you

'not make me such another fine book?' said the little Duke of York—'Do.' Certainly his Grace 'should have one without fail.' 'But how long will it be before I have it?' 'Very soon.' 'Yes, but how long will that be?—tell the ladies at Gidding to be quick.' Young Ferrar was then introduced at the court table, and dined with 'divers young lords, the Duke of Buckingham, and others.'

The Archbishop, at parting, the next day, informed him of the king's good intentions, and filled his young mind with a grand object for his Oxford career. 'The king would have 'this work of the New Testament in twenty-four languages,' and Nicolas Ferrar was to be the editor of the grand polyglott, and to have all the help of the learning of the nation at his command. 'The youth, kneeling down, took the Archbishop by the 'hand, and kissed it. The Archbishop took him up in his arms, 'and laid his hand upon his cheek, and earnestly besought God 'Almighty to bless him, and increase all graces in him, and fit him 'every day more and more for an instrument of his glory here upon 'earth, and a saint in heaven. God bless you! God bless you! 'I have told your father what is to be done for you after the 'holidays. God will provide for you better than your father 'can. 'God bless you, and keep you.' Young Ferrar was cut off before he fulfilled the Archbishop's predictions. A premature intellect had undermined his health, and he died not long after this scene.

We must return to our subject. Laud, now Archbishop and Premier, and, in the full swing of official magnificence, had no thought of the *otium cum dignitate* in his head. Thirty years of hard continuous work at Oxford and at Court, had cemented him; he was too old to change; he had cast his own mould, and it was a good hard one. The regions of damask, velvet, and crimson glow—the increased rich air of station—the 'violet blue and full-blown roses,' and soft, encircling pomp and cushioning fumes, embraced a very tough insensible material in him. The sterling, wiry mind went on working in its own hole, stuck to its objects, pushed for results, and saw, in the ramifications of office, simply channels of employment, and nothing more. The pure, unalloyed, practical view excluded the idle, self-important one. Laud was sixty-two when he was made Archbishop, and he was then in the very thick of the struggle, and had the world before him. Still further and further,—further from the Archbishop than from the President of St. John's, fled the inward consummation and the *præmium virtutis*, the elysium of the official mind, the blushing and the blossoming, the state when cares are pleasures and duties treats, and the happy conscience and the

satisfied taste expand over their department of genial exertion and dignity; and the choice nest warms under the maternal wing, and the sunbeams glitter on the garden-plot. O happy, indescribable state of ministerial, parliamentary, judicial, magisterial, episcopal, archidiaconal, collegiate, parochial efflorescence; union of peace, plenty, and virtue, oil and perfume of the soul, development of life, and climax of man! and ill-fated person he who does not contrive to get admittance within your sacred enclosure, especially if he has been so presumptuous as to decline it! The wide ocean rages outside of you, clouds lower, and restless illimitableness distresses the eye. And triple brass for him, 'who can love to hear the winds roar, and calmly gaze on 'floating monsters, and a swollen sea, and those dreadful rocks, 'the Acroceraunia.'

Melancholy forebodings sounded in Laud's ear as he entered upon his archiepiscopal course, and a determination to go through with everything mingled with a kind of gloom and hopelessness as to how it would all end. 'My lord,' is his answer to Strafford's congratulations, 'I thank you heartily for your kind wishes 'to me, that God would send me many and many happy days 'where I am now to be: Amen. I can do little for myself, if I 'cannot say so. But truly, my lord, I look for neither: not for 'many, for I am in years, and have had a troublesome life; not 'for happy, for I have no hope to do the good I desire. And, 'besides, I doubt I shall never be able to hold my health there 'one year; for instead of all the jolting which I have had over 'the stones between London-house and Whitehall, which was 'almost daily, I shall now have no exercise, but slide over in a 'barge to the Court and Star Chamber. And in truth, my lord, 'I speak seriously; I have had a heaviness hanging over me 'ever since I was nominated to the place, and I can give myself 'no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension that 'there is more expected from me than the craziness of these 'times will give me leave to do.'—'Methinks I see a cloud 'arising, and threatening the Church of England; God, of His 'mercy, dissipate it,' was the notice of his Diary years ago, as soon as the House of Commons war with Montague began. With the reader's permission we will go back an interval, and take him to the scene. The theological war had begun sometime before, upon the national field; and a series of collisions between Laud and the House of Commons ushered in the contest, which afterwards overwhelmed Church and State. It is curious to see the first stages of a great struggle.

Mr. Richard Montague was a fellow of Eton College, and Prebendary of Windsor; an able and a learned man. The

acuteness, point, and clearness which his controversial writings show, give him, notwithstanding a too unchastised form in which he clothes them, an undoubted rank as a man of talent. Some Jesuits had found their way into his parish, with a tract against the English Church,—‘A new Gag for an old Gospel.’ Montague answered it by showing that the doctrines of the English Church were much higher than the assailants had given her credit for, and issued the ‘Gagger.’ The ‘Gagger’ came under the criticism of other eyes than those of Jesuits, and its statement of Church of England doctrines irritated the puritanical party, who saw in them simple unqualified popery: and Montague was threatened with an arraignment before a most formidable theological tribunal.

This tribunal was the House of Commons. We do not at this day regard the honourable house as much of a theological body, nor does it consider itself so. It was different then. The House of Commons was a Calvinistic body then—not Calvinists individually, perhaps one-tenth part of them, or caring enough about it—but a Calvinistic *body*. Bodies come to act under certain influences as bodies. Corporations, boards, commissions, parliaments, admit some active element into them which gradually rises, and gets itself looked up to, sets the standard, and lays down the law. Bodies subject themselves to a ruling spirit, which, even where it is not felt, is deferred to among its members, as a matter of course; and the aggregate, as such, takes that line, and seems to have a character and soul of its own independent of its individual parts. The House of Commons, as a body, adopted puritanism: in adopting puritanism, it adopted the popular, the vigorous, the ambitious religious principle of the day. The House of Commons represented the political element in the nation, and was then making its first approaches to that gigantic power to which it has since attained—that supremacy of earth and human will which has stamped the sad, though magnificent career of English politics. It represented the State pure with its natural instinctive antipathy to Church power, and it saw in puritanism the instrument for crushing it. With that sharpness of instinct with which a political movement catches at the convenient stepping-stone for its own objects, the House of Commons threw itself into the puritanical mould, and became Calvinistic on the same principle on which it is now latitudinarian. It gathered into it the strength, passion, and impulse of the nation, and became the centre and rallying-point of a new and intense world of feeling and power that had risen up. It became a regularly theological assembly. That ‘lower depth’ of hypocrisy, by which the

powers of earth actually contrive to believe their own religious adoption, and fondle the base instrument, was attained to. It discussed doctrines, prosed, preached, and exhorted, and displayed all manner of unction. It was the Exeter-Hall of the present day, and the 'godly' M. P. threw up his eyes at the very mention of popery, and congratulated himself and the rest of the 'godly' honourable house, that they were not members of Antichrist. Sympathetic compliments passed between the 'godly' House and the 'godly' out of the House; and there were pious diplomatic connexions with nonconformist ministers. The House believed in predestination. The House was powerful on the subject of free grace. The House loved the pure Gospel. The House grieved for the hardness of the human heart, and the opposition of the natural man to truth. The House was severe on the worldliness of prelates. The House was a religious prig of the first order. Heylyn has his laugh, and facetiously attributes these pretensions to the impression which their session in the Divinity School at Oxford made on them:—'The Divinity School was prepared for the 'House of Commons, and a chair made for the speaker, in or 'near the place in which his Majesty's professor of divinity did 'usually read his public lecture, and moderate in all public disputations. And this first put them into conceit that the determining of all points of controversy did belong to them. As 'Vibius Rufus, in the story, having married Tully's widow, 'and bought Cæsar's chair, conceived he was then in a way to gain 'the eloquence of the one and the power of the other. For after 'that we find no parliament without a committee of religion, 'and no committee of religion but what did think itself sufficiently instructed to manage the greatest controversies of divinity which were brought before them.'

Yates and Ward, two puritanical lecturers at Ipswich, sent information about Montague to the House. James was then on the throne. Montague, in alarm, appealed to the crown, and was protected; and published, in consequence of this appeal, his '*Appello Cæsarem*,' which repeated in a stronger form the statements of the first book.

The first parliament of Charles met, and immediately summoned the audacious offender. 'He was brought to the bar 'of the House, and the speaker declared to him the pleasure of 'the House.' They deferred the censure, but in the interim committed him to the 'sergeant's ward,' and made him find bail to the amount of two thousand pounds. Charles was very indignant at this stretch of power over one of his own chaplains: La udengaged Buckingham in the cause; and a formal

letter from himself and two other bishops, Rochester and Oxford, laid down the Church law on the subject. They protested against the assumption of ecclesiastical power by parliament, and declared that convocation was the only theological tribunal to which the Church would or could submit. The letter, however, was very moderate, claimed some doctrines as necessary, and demanded a latitude for others. 'The opinions which troubled many men in the late book of Mr. Montague, were some of them such as were expressly the resolved doctrines of the Church of England: some of them such as were fit only for schools, and to be left at liberty for learned men, so that they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. They did not intend to make men subscribe the school opinions; they only did not want to be intimidated themselves into abandoning the doctrines of the Church.' The Commons saw a stand made against them, and showed their teeth. When the next motion for supplies came on, they were so deep in spiritual subjects, that no answer could be got out of them on the sublunary one. Charles urged his 'pressing occasions, the necessities of the fleet, the eyes of the confederates that were fixed on him.' The House, in return, told him of the growth of popery, expressed their fears, and humbly offered their assistance in checking it.

Charles's second parliament opened with a sermon from Laud on unity. 'How may unity be preserved in Church and State? How? I will tell you. Would you keep the State in unity? Take heed of breaking the peace of the Church. The peace of the State depends much upon it; for, divide Christ in the hearts of men, or divide the minds of men about their hopes of salvation in Christ, and tell me what unity there will be?' Other prey was in scent, however, now, and Montague, superseded by Buckingham, was 'kept cold' till the next parliament, when the attack was renewed with increased vigour. Charles was frightened, and thought it safest to end the matter by calling in the obnoxious book. The concession gave offence to the Church party, and was thought a 'bending of religion to policy.' But Laud made it up to Montague the next opportunity. The latter had a fellow-sufferer in the person of a Dr. Mainwaring, who had been actually brought to his knees before the mighty tribunal, and been imprisoned, fined, and suspended; his sermon burnt, and himself especially incapacitated from holding any further ecclesiastical preferment. Laud made Montague and Mainwaring, respectively, Bishops of Chichester and St. David's. And the two victims marched under the very face of the Lower House to their episcopal seat in the Lords.

To come to the main scene of our history ;—Laud, in complete and undisputed possession of the regale, now applied its full powers to effect an ecclesiastical reformation in the country, and wielded with unsparing energy the secular weapon in his hands.

The puritanical preachers in the Church now overran the ground like a host, and spread their doctrines with all the zeal and license of preaching friars of protestantism. There were more quiet intellectual specimens of them, of whom Baxter was the head, who half despised their brethren ; but the mass was a vulgar disorderly one. They were the mendicant orders of the Reformation, with a strong mixture of the hedge-priest in their constitution ; and were the genuine successors of the Lollards and Wickliffites of Archbishop Courtney's day. Their whole proceedings take us back to that prototype. The parochial pulpits did not supply them with a sufficient theatre, though they had their share of them : they instituted lectureships. Companies and corporations all over the country were persuaded to found lectureships, and give revenues for additional sermons on the Sunday or week-days, once, twice, or thrice in the week. Their ingenuity in multiplying these opportunities was prodigious. A lecture once instituted became, when they liked, 'a running lecture,' *i. e.* was not confined to one place, but ran from parish to parish. Special fasts were appointed by the authority of the lecturer, or curate, for this or that alleged reason, in neighbourhoods. These fasts were pure excuses for sermons, and were principally devoted to the castigation of the sins of prelates, and especially the Archbishop himself. The audience fasted by feasting their ears. Lectures and fasts were the sores and troubles of High Church bishops in their dioceses : they had to exert themselves to extinguish fasts as often as they sprung up, and prohibit the right of the public fasting. One would imagine that fasting was a great popular sin of the day. 'His lordship of Peterborough certifies that he hath suppressed a seditious lecture at Ripon, and divers monthly lectures, with a fast and a moderator (like that which they called prophesying in Queen Elizabeth's time), as also the Running Lecture, so called because the lecturer went from village to village, and at the end of the week proclaimed where they should hear him next, that his disciples might follow. They say this lecture was ordained to illuminate the dark corners of that diocese.' Their style of preaching was coarse to a degree that could hardly be credited now, and which absolutely prevents us from making quotations. Unscrupulous illustrations, any expression which came to hand, if it was only strong enough, any thing for effect, made their language about our Saviour amount sometimes to blasphemy, and miserably lowered the Bible doctrines. They

preached in Genevan cloaks often, and did not even wear the gown. The class was an English shape of the Scotch Covenanters and Cameronians, forward, rude, and undisciplined, full of angry enthusiasm, and breathing in their spiritual declamations the spirit of war and the carnal knife—of the holster and pistols, and jack-boots. The watchword of the 'sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' was in embryo in their discourses, and uncontrollable confidence and self-will carried them along. They represented a grotesque religious mixture, which the world perhaps will never see again, in that particular mould and manifestation. Boundless types of the ridiculous, they contrived to unite a temporary intensity of life and power with their absurdities. They were real persons, realities, not shams, writes an admirer. They were realities, beyond a doubt, but in a sense which utterly excludes from the meaning of the word 'reality' the sublime, the great, or the interesting. The animal creation, for example, with all its ferocities and humours, is real: and men and mammalia are both real. But the reality of the one nature is human, of the other animal. The puritans had reality; but that they were ridiculous is a simple fact, of which the elemental perception of that principle in our nature is at once the test. They abounded and sprung up with a luxuriant and prolific impetus all over the Church now. Ordination was not limited then by its present rules. Men were ordained with or without cures. Gentlemen of any rank, who chose to afford one, had a chaplain, or person so called, in his house. 'All persons,' says Heylyn, 'were left at liberty to keep as many as they would, and as long as they pleased, without any control. Nor were the chaplains better pleased than their masters were. For having lived upon hard commons, and perhaps under some smart discipline in their halls and colleges, they thought they had spent their studies to good purpose by finding ease and a full belly in these gentlemen's houses, from whom there was possibly some preferment also.' The unmanageable theological mass thus sprung up had found their way into schools, among other places; and their notions interfered with common education. And Laud complains that 'the precisian would read nothing but divinity to his pupils—no, not so much as the grammar rules; unless Mars and Bacchus, Apollo, Pol, and Ædipol were blotted out.'

The doctrine of the school was strong predestinarianism, and they stood upon the language of the seventeenth Article, as the proof that the Church spoke with them. The fact that the seventeenth Article comes almost word for word from St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas, and that neither could well be Calvinists, could not reach congregations who knew nothing of the history of doctrinal language. The Calvinistic doctrine

of predestination, with all its concomitant views of Original Sin, the Atonement, and Justification by Faith, was put forward as the teaching of the Reformed Church. There is something in the Calvinistic predestinarian, or fatalist view, which wonderfully harmonizes with a low, and fallen religion. It has been the favourite article of heretical bodies from the first. It benumbs the aspiring will, and reduces all Christians to a level; stops up the fountain-head of good works, excuses the aim at graces and perfections, and insinuates the flattering belief that the aim is even sinful, and not intended in God's scheme. It supplants humility, the very basis of the Christian character: by taking away the real reason for it, voluntary sin, it makes humility unnecessary and out of place. If a man could not help doing wrong, why be humbled for it? Proud nature knows that, refuses to appropriate its sin, and turns fatalist. 'I had rather,' says Augustine, speaking of himself, in his Manichean days, 'that Thy incommutable substance erred by necessity, than my own mutable one by will; and sin was derived by immutable law from heaven, that man might be free from it, and remain proud rottenness and flesh and blood.' Man tries to escape from the fact of voluntary sin, but the Church will not let him. She pursues him with the fact of his free-will, drives him into a corner, and points the sharp sword at his conscience. Free-will is the one sore point with sinful nature, which contains worlds, and is the starting point of a whole different religious system to that of natural man—the spiritual ethics of Catholicism.

Calvinism and Arminianism were the two names which the Puritans gave to the two sides on this question. The advocates of free will were called Arminians, though they disclaimed and in fact had nothing to do with Arminius himself. The name was given them by their opponents. Laud's school urged simply the Church doctrine of free-will against the Calvinistic view: and the controversy on the subject of free-will and predestination filled the Church, became the great doctrinal controversy of the day, and was carried on by sermons and books and pamphlets, and all the modes of agitation common in theological war. The Puritan was Calvinist, and the Churchman Arminian. There were exception to the division in many cases, such as Davenant and Usher, who held a certain modification of Calvinism in doctrine, while they were Churchmen in discipline. But the two sides, as a whole, divided on this subject.

Laud's object was a doctrinal clearance; the subjugation of the Calvinistic spirit in the Reformed Church of England. The restoration of Church ceremonial and external worship, was not so much his object as this doctrinal one. The Church was overrun

with heresy—for we cannot call the puritanical movement of the 17th century by any other name; and he was bent on expelling it; on the view that nothing could be made of the Church till it was got rid of. He was a doctrinal reformer. Grievous experience had taught him the nature of the Calvinistic school; and he had suffered under the pressure. The two Abbots, and Vice-Chancellor Airay, and the theological tribunal, and the Oxford contests with the heads of the party, made their impression. He was now in power, and it was his turn to act.

Laud had no sooner gained his position in the Church, than two successive sets of Royal Instructions made their appearance; laying down stringent rules for curtailing the number of this class of preachers, and cramping their pulpit displays. The prolific source of the class was stopped up, and common gentlemen were forbidden private chaplains in their houses. The lecturer had the whole ecclesiastical weight tied to him from the time he went into the Church, to the time he came out. The Church service before the lecture, the surplice, the communion service from the altar in the morning, were all hung like weights upon his performance. ‘If you preach, you must pray,’ he was told. He found himself under a legal ceremonial burden. He rushed impetuously into the extempore prayer before the sermon, and the bidding prayer instantly filled up the gap. The sermon itself was brought into confinement, and barren was the model of the discourse to which the Puritan imagination was directed. The injunctions proceed: ‘I. That no preacher under the degree and calling of a bishop, or dean of a cathedral or collegiate church (and they upon the king’s days only and set festivals), do take occasion, by the expounding of any text of Scripture whatever, to fall into any set discourse or common-place, otherwise than by opening the coherence, and division of his text.—II. That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, shall preach any sermon or collation hereafter in the afternoon, but upon some parts of the Catechism, or the Lord’s Prayer.—III.’ continues the document, with growing impetus and rising displeasure, as it approaches the great point—‘That no preacher of what title whatsoever, under the degree of bishop or dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God’s grace.’ The animus of the document could have been given in two words—no sermons. Sermons were the unmanageable articles, the essential agents of mischief; and how to cut and pare them down, and put them into strait-waistcoats, and into the stocks, and take out their tongues, and make them say nothing, and mean nothing, and be nothing, was the question.

The instructions of course created large disgust. Country gentlemen thought themselves insulted; it was rumoured that 'nothing less was aimed at than a total suppression of the Divine ordinance of preaching;' and, at the least, 'a dreadful diminution in the number of sermons was anticipated:' and 'as for spending the afternoon in teaching the Church Catechism,' the preacher felt much of the indescribable contempt for the task that Dugald Dalgetty had for bows and arrows. 'It was a work fitter for a pedagogue than a preaching minister, who was ordained to provide strong meats for men, and not such milk for babes.' It was a strange look-out, indeed, if he who had dived into the very arcana of predestinarianism, if the advanced Gopellist, was now to expound the Catechism. The execution of the injunctions led to fresh collisions. The preachers did expound the Catechism; they took a text out of it, and preached a full-length sermon. The bishop of the diocese had to keep watch.

The royal declaration about the Thirty-nine Articles, still appended to our Prayer Book, was the decisive step, however, taken with respect to the doctrinal question at issue. The meaning of the Articles was fought for; the declaration rescued them *vi et armis* from the Calvinistic sense, and said positively, they are not Calvinistic, and they shall not be Calvinistic; we forbid you drawing any inference of your own from them: you shall take the words—the words as they stand—as much of the words as you please—but not one iota of meaning shall you give them. It is no use, the royal document seems to say, disputing with you; you are too much for us with your indomitable tongues: suffice it to say, that it shall be so; we will have no commenting. 'We will that all further curious search be laid aside. No man hereafter shall draw the Articles aside any way. No man shall put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal grammatical sense.' The declaration was perfectly understood by the Calvinists, and pronounced to come 'from the depths of Satan,' and to be 'a Jesuitical plan to subvert the Gospel.' Under pretence of stopping both sides, it tongue-tied them. Even Bishop Davenant had to be called to order for disobedience; and a strong Calvinistic sermon from him in the royal chapel, the Sunday after, in defiance of it, brought him before the High Commission. At the same time, the wording of the document was almost too impartial. The Calvinistic sense was destroyed, but all other senses were stopped at the same time too. No side being allowed to attach its own meaning to them, all meanings were taken away, and Calvinism was removed by a process which cleared the whole ground to achieve its removal; and henceforth a grammatical sense, without a theological mean-

ing, was the subtle abstraction to which the significancy of the Articles was reduced, according to this declaration.

Such were the weapons of the day. There is something curious in a contest between two kinds of strength. The naturalist seeks for the spectacle in the animal world; the historical eye sees it in the annals of parties and movements. Puritanism felt the saliency and impetuosity of a new heretical principle; Laud the pertinacity of an old ecclesiastical one. He had not the young power of the age with him, and he must use what power he had. Puritanism came up, like the seed from the dragon's teeth, everywhere; Laud could simply put his foot on it. It turned, and doubled, and fled from him, in Protean fashion; and he followed it. It evaded one law, and another was made. He kept it under, while its prolific vitality threatened to burst the pressure every moment, and overwhelm him. Keep it under, check, block it, was all he could do; and that he did do without fail. Bold impetus found its match, and the coarse vigour and teeming animal life of heresy never made the coercer shrink or flag.

The contest of the two sides for Church Patronage was another form of the same combat. The matter was one of vital importance, and affected the prospective strength of each party strongly. The Puritans had their project—a great scheme, viz. for buying in lay impropriations. A common fund was raised for buying in such impropriations as were in lay hands, and a regular corporation formed. 'Twelve persons, clergymen, citizens, and lawyers—their names, Googe, Offspring, Sibbs, and Davenport, ministers; Eyre, Brown, White, and Sherland, lawyers; Gearing, Davis, Horwood, and Bridges, citizens; with Rowland Heylyn, alderman of London, a thirteenth man, 'to give the casting vote,'—formed the committee of management. Emissaries were despatched through all parts of the country to collect money. Heylyn, our biographer, first discovered the real drift of the design, which one or two discourses of the nominees of the body sufficiently demonstrated. 'It then pleased the president of his college, being then vice-chancellor, to appoint him to preach the Advent sermon at 'St. Mary's,' to which, it appears, there was a great concourse in those days. He took for his text—'But while men slept, the enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way;' and an *exposé* of the plan followed. 'A general consternation,' he says, 'showed itself in the looks of his auditors,'—the puritan portion of them. He was charged with having been set upon the task by 'a higher power;' and 'honest, well-meaning men thought it a pity to discourage such 'a pious work' as the feoffment. A puritan meeting was held

that night, and came to the resolution of taking legal and all other proceedings against the preacher. Heylyn put his sermon and the whole affair in Laud's hands, 'who thereupon entered 'it in the memorandum at the end of his breviat, viz. "to overthrow the feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, 'going under the specious practice of buying in impropriations.'" 'The feoffees came to their doom in the Exchequer' in the course of a few months.

Laud had his own schemes, in the meantime, going on for the same object. The same impropriations were in his eye, too; and, at the very time of this discovery, he was holding consultations with Charles about a method of getting back the lay patronage within the Church into the Church's hands again. All openings to patronage were watched. Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Coventry, the privy seal, had a dispute 'about the disposal of such benefices as belonged to 'the king in the minority of his wards.' Coventry claimed his share, Cottington would not let him have it. While the two are fighting, 'Laud ends the difference by taking all unto 'himself.' He urged upon his majesty 'that many deans had 'served as chaplains in his majesty's ships, who should have 'some reward given them for their services past. It was cold 'venturing upon such hot services without some hope of reward. 'He takes occasion, therefore, to inform his majesty, that till 'this controversy be decided, he might do well to take these 'livings unto his own disposal. Which proposition being approved, his majesty committed the said benefices unto *his* ' (the Archbishop's) disposal.' The acquisition was gained without much ill will, for 'Cottington was not at all displeased 'at the designation—as being more willing that a third man 'should carry off the prize from both, than to be overtopped in 'his own jurisdiction. And the Archbishop, by this accession of 'power, as he increased the number of his dependants, so gained 'the opportunity of supplying the Church with regular conformable men; which served him for a counterbalance against 'the multitude of lecturers established in so many places, especially by the feoffees for impropriations.'

The higher preferments of the Church began now to fall into his hands, and he filled them up with his own men. Corbet, 'one of his fellow-sufferers in the University,' he raised to the see of Norwich; the younger Bancroft, to the see of Oxford; Neile, from Winchester to the Archbishopric of York; Juxon, to the clerkship of the closet; Lyndsell, to Peterborough; Wren, in course of time, to Hereford. A catena of such preferments was brought up against Laud at his trial.

We come to another great department of reform. A miserable

neglect of the externals of worship, and an aspect of coldness, irreverence, and disorder, were now disgracing the celebration of the Church services, and deforming the fabrics. Churches, with their communion-tables drawn out towards the body of the Church, the chancels becoming rapidly shut up with pews, the decay of all ornament, and the positive dirt and defilement in them, were made into conventicles rather than churches. Laud took the work fairly in hand. Some cathedrals and churches, in different parts, where he had influence, had already begun a reform; and the cathedrals of Gloucester, St. Paul's, and Worcester under Mainwaring, and others, had revived in part their ancient splendour, and the forms and outward gestures of Catholic worship. Hangings, palls, fronts, and rich plate vessels, enriched the altar. The canons bowed towards the altar, and bowed at the name of Jesus. At St. Mary's Church, Oxford, the doctors and scholars began to do the same; and college chapels began to show the rising spirit.

Laud had a great taste for Church ceremonial, and his feeling was in the movement. The combination of the man of business and statesman, the practical character with the love of Church ritual, is striking. We draw aside the veil of political life, and find the Archbishop before his chapel-altar, consecrating his communion-plate. A person,—an informer afterwards against him,—happens to stray into the chapel at Lambeth one morning, and 'sees him bow and wear a cope, then consecrate the vessels, 'and use part of Solomon's dedication prayer.'—'No fault,' says Laud, at his trial, 'in any of these; these inanimate things are 'holy, in that they are deputed to the service of God:—there is 'an absolute holiness of God, and a relative holiness of the creature.' 'If there is no dedication of these things to God, there's 'neither thing nor place holy, and thus no sacrilege: no difference 'between churches and common houses, between "holy tables" 'and ordinary tables. But I would have no man deceive himself: 'sacrilege is a grievous thing. "Thou that abhorrest idols, dost 'thou commit sacrilege?"' The whole turn and expression of his mind, and his zeal on the subject, show more underneath these measures, than the cold ground of mere external decency and Church respectability. Certain forms of speaking which he and his school made use of, are indeed open to this interpretation. But it should be remembered, that the public and forensic ground is not necessarily the real ground in the individual himself. When Laud summoned non-conformists into his court for not attending to Church ceremonial, he would not argue with them on its beauty or sublimity; he would simply say, This is the rule of the Church, and you must obey it. Because however he makes use of an inferior forensic ground, we need not therefore tie

him to it exclusively. It may perfectly co-exist with the higher one; and his language and acts show this higher ground decidedly.

The restoration of the ceremony of Church consecrations was one of Laud's revivals. The ceremony had stopped since the Reformation; and the regular view was, says Heylyn, 'that the continued series of divine duties in a place set apart for that purpose, doth sufficiently consecrate a place.' 'In Sidney College, Cambridge,' he adds, 'the old dormitory of the Franciscans (on the site of which friary the said college was built), was, after some years, trimmed and fitted, and without any formal consecration, converted into a house of prayer; though formerly, in the opinion of those who allowed thereof, it could have been no better than a den of thieves.' 'The chapel of Emmanuel College, though built at the same time with the rest of the house, was never consecrated.' Laud's consecrations of St. Catherine Creed, and St. Giles's-in-the-fields, performed with high formality and pomp, revived the old idea which had lain dead, and made a sensation which gave a stimulus to the Church. She heard herself addressed in sublime tones which were new to her, and learned to apply high language to herself. 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in.'

But Laud's whole movement about Church externals soon converged to a point, and gathered round the altar. 'The altar,' were his words, 'is the greatest place of God's residence upon earth, greater than the pulpit, for there 'tis *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body; but in the other it is, at most, but *Hoc est verbum meum*, This is my word.' Here the ceremonial question became a doctrinal one. The disposition of the communion-table in our churches, then removed from the east end, and brought without rails or skreen into an almost congregational position in the church, was an ocular contradiction to all high doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; a practical denial of the mystery of the Real Presence and the Sacrifice. It was a bar to all sound preaching on that head, to have the whole interior of a church giving the lie to the doctrine. The communion-table was used for all sorts of purposes. 'Churchwardens kept their accounts upon it; parishioners despatched parish business at it; schoolmasters taught the boys to write at it; boys had their hats, satchels and books upon it; men sat and leant irreverently against it at sermon time; glaziers knocked it full of nail-holes.' Laud applied his attentions to the holy table; made that his object, and directed his reforms to it. He wished to do one particular thing—to bring out fairly, and put in its proper position, the Lord's table; to raise it from a table

into an altar. It was a great point to obtain, and quite worth setting to work about: he applied himself singly and vigorously to it. In gaining this he gained a centre, about which a hundred other things were collected.

His injunctions about the communion-table were very simple, and even moderate, and confined themselves to this one object. They enjoined placing the communion-table at the east end, close to the wall: rails were enjoined to separate it fairly from the congregation: it was to be three steps above the chancel floor, and pews in the chancel, that obstructed the sight of it from the body of the church, were to be pulled down. This was enough to vindicate the essential character of the holy table, and here the command stopped. Principle, and not ornament, was the object. In cathedrals and places where ornament could be got, and could be afforded, it was attended to. The scene of a magnificent church interior required it, in order to keep the altar on a par with the rest of the fabric. But in ordinary cases, the simple naked change of position was all aimed at; and for the rest he was content with necessary decency. We must confess we are literally unable to discover that exorbitance in Laud's line about church externals, that some have affected to find. His injunctions have a very moderate tone, aim at realities, and keep to the point.

An order in council, dated Whitehall, November 3, 1633, settled the question for him, in the case of St. Gregory's church, near St. Paul's, in the city, where the change of position had been made. The decision made a noise at the time, and gave him the ground he wanted. An archiepiscopal visitation, commenced immediately after his elevation, enforced a set of instructions on the subject, and Brent, the vicar-general, made a progress through the provinces. He did not encounter more opposition than that of churchwardens here and there, till he came to the diocese of Lincoln.

Here the old enemy, Williams, was on the alert. As soon as ever the order of St. Gregory appeared, he turned the communion tables in his diocese, that happened to be at the east end, back again, raised a cry of 'more capacity to receive communicants, greater audibleness of the minister's voice, &c.' and received Laud with a regular organized opposition. He ingratiated himself forthwith, in a marked way, and with all the arts of humbug, of which he was master, with the nonconformist ministers—insomuch that, meeting in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham with one Dr. Bret, a very grave and reverend man, but one who was supposed to incline that way, he embraced him in his episcopal arms, with these words of St. Augustine, '*Quamvis Episcopus major est presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor*

'*est Hieronymo* ; intimating thereby, to the great commendation of his modesty, among those of that faction, that Bret was as much greater than Williams, as the bishop was above a priest.' The vicar-general began with laying his suspension upon the bishop, and all his six archdeacons. Williams pleaded an exemption from the visitorial power, by virtue of certain Papal Bulls. The question was tried before council, and decided against him: and the vicar-general then went through the diocese. As soon as his back was turned, Williams began a counter visitation, and not daring to disobey the whole injunction, adopted the rails without the position, and railed the holy table round in the middle of the chancel.

Williams, disgraced at court, had retired to his diocese some years before; 'having given up the seal,' says Heylyn, 'but supposed to have taken the purse with him.' He lived in great style in his see, and nobody knew where his money came from. Laud soon found him, however, doing as much mischief in the country as he did at court. He set up as patron of the puritans, had before now come out in print as an antagonist on the communion-table question, and was a rising centre of Church disaffection in the country. 'He used all the wit and malice he could,' says Clarendon, 'to awake the people to a jealousy of these innovations.' It was simple pure political malice in him; about the question itself he did not care a straw. He actually had a highly ornamented altar in his own private chapel and cathedral. Laud tried hard and long unsuccessfully to oust him out of his see. Williams laid himself open, by some betrayal of council secrets to his puritan friends. He was instantly brought before the Star-chamber, but by delays and technicalities kept the court at bay for a period of ten years. Strafford, to oblige Laud, tried his hand at him, but found it easier to master Ireland than to get the upper hand of Williams. He was obliged to leave hold of him and go to his Irish government. In 1637 Williams at last received his sentence, was suspended, and put in prison. He supplicated hard for pardon, and offered to give up his bishopric altogether. He was offered an Irish one, as, under Strafford, a safe place to keep him in. The offer was declined. 'He did not like to go where he should fall into the hands of a man who once in seven months would find out some old statute or other for cutting off his head.' He continued in the Tower for three years, 'during which time he never went into the chapel of the Tower to attend divine service, or hear the sermon, or receive the sacrament.'

The great religious contest had, meantime, its offshoots. The Sabbatarian question was one. The Church had taken one view of the Sunday from the first ages; Puritanism had pro-

mulgated another; the one made it a Church feast; the other a Judaical fast. A good deal was involved in the distinction. A whole Church halo gathers round the ecclesiastical Sunday; it appeals for the original choice of the day itself to the Church; it represents the Church system and round of fast and festival, and typifies the high chastised spiritual joy of Catholicism. Puritanism feels itself excluded, and rejects the ecclesiastical festival. There is a spirit in the Church Sunday that particularly harmonizes with Church feeling, and a spirit in the Puritan Sabbath that particularly harmonizes with Puritanism. The consecration of joy by Church sanctions, Church times and seasons, and the being under obligation, as it were, to the Church for your mirth, is a true part of Catholic feeling, and particularly not of Puritan.

The question came out now in the dress of the day. In 1618, King James, on his return from his Scotch progress, issued the first 'Book of Sports.' His motive was, his royal compassion for the melancholy dulness of the poor population on the Sunday. He lifted up his royal eyes, as he returned through Yorkshire and Lancashire, and saw every thing look dull on the Sunday. He thought the Church of England had a very forbidding aspect to the numerous Roman Catholics of those districts. The Church was injured, and the poor were deprived of their proper holiday. He issued a book of rules for Sunday amusements and festivities. The rules prescribed innocent merry games and exercises, and aimed, with a good spirit and intention, at providing the poor with proper recreation, while it, at the same time, prevented them from running into extravagance or brutality. They were to play, they were to go to church too. 'For his good people's lawful recreation, his Majesty's pleasure was, that, after the end of Divine service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation; nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, morrice-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, or other sports, therewith used: so that the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes into the church, for the decorating of it according to their old custom. But withal, his Majesty doth here account still as prohibited all unlawful games, as bear and bull baitings, &c. &c. All offensive weapons are prohibited to be carried or used in the said times of recreation. And the present recreations are forbidden to any who, though conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before going

'to the said recreations.' The attempt was a good one, and was likely to have considerable effect on the poor, in the way of attaching them to the church. The clergy argued, 'that they preserved the memorial of the dedication of the several churches, composed differences by mediation and meeting of friends, increased love and amity by feasts of charity, and the relief and comfort of the poor, by opening the rich men's houses.'

A great set was made at these games from high and low puritan quarters. Besides the ordinary attacks from the puritan press, judges, and magisterial and corporation benches, assumed a precisian look, and were shocked. Puritanism had a certain magnetic influence throughout these times over some opulent official classes in the country. The municipal authorities, and magistrates in high-backed chairs, exhibited the school in its decent, comfortable, and respectable form. The respectable puritan country gentleman saw from the windows of his mansion the poor people enjoying themselves, in their rough way, and saw them, very likely, sometimes go too far. The respectable puritan gentleman was annoyed; the Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire magistracy, were of opinion that these 'feast-days, church-ales, wakes, and revels,' did the people harm, and interfered with order and gravity, made a disagreeable noise, and disturbed their own respectable after-dinner repose. Chief Baron Walter and Baron Denham issued their orders at the Devonshire Assizes for the suppression of all 'revels, church-ales, clerk-ales,' and the like. The course of suppression went on, and puritan authorities were gradually putting down the Church feasts.

Chief Justice Richardson went down to the Somersetshire assizes with judges' orders to this effect in his pocket, which he issued, backed by the Grand Jury; and with them an injunction to all the clergy of the county to publish them in their churches, and see them put into effect. Laud now stepped in. He summoned Richardson to answer for 'an encroachment upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in imposing upon men in holy orders the publishing of warrants and commands from the secular judges.' The king commanded Richardson to revoke the order. Richardson disobeyed, and re-issued it in a more peremptory form than before: complaints came up from the county; and the bishop, with seventy-two of his clergy, certified, 'under their signs manual, that on the feast-days, (wakes,) (which commonly fell on the Sunday,) the service of God was more soberly performed, and the Church better frequented, both forenoon and afternoon, than upon any Sunday in the year; and that the people desired the continuance of them.'

Richardson was cited again to the Council-table, and Laud gave him a lecture, which effectually silenced him. He came out of the Council-room in tears, and perfectly overwhelmed—'choked,' he declared, 'with a pair of lawn sleeves.' The London civic authorities displayed the same pompous scrupulosity; and Lord Mayors Dunbar and Raynton were the terror of the London inferior population on the Sunday. Self-complacent zeal is provocative of a set-down. An old apple-woman triumphed over their lordships: the civic officers had assaulted her upon Church ground, and shoved her out of St. Paul's church-yard. Laud rebuked the lord mayor for his pains, and told him to keep upon his own territory.

There was a class, it is not to be denied, that Laud rather liked setting down. Self-important official men were highly obnoxious to snubs from him. He had something of a relish for the process. When any one particularly catches it, it is a great chance if he is not a person of dignity; some gentleman who had probably never had his set-down before, and who, upon the ordinary equilibrium of nature, must be supposed to have rather wanted it. His spirit insensibly rose when one of these gentlemen made his appearance: and the 'big' man 'had his lesson, which a little man escaped. The Council-room exhibited a curious mixture often on this head. Some poor insignificant man or other has the whole room arguing with him, trying to persuade him out of his error, and treating him with really flattering attention. 'One Brabourn, a poor schoolmaster in the diocese of Norfolk,' is converted by the affability of the Council. He had written on the Sabbatarian side, and been audacious enough to dedicate his book to his Majesty: 'Brabourn being therefore called into court, his error was so learnedly confuted by the bishops and other judicious divines' then present, that he began to stagger in his opinion.' Their lordships, following up the argumentative victory, 'admonished him in a grave and fatherly way to submit himself to a conference with such grave and learned men as should be appointed thereunto: to which he cheerfully consented, and found such benefit of that meeting, that, by God's blessing, he became a convert to the orthodoxal doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Sabbath, or Lord's-day.'

The fiscal and economical department of the Church came under Laud's eye, as well as the doctrinal and ceremonial. It wanted looking after not a little. 'He saw the Church was decaying,' says Heylin, 'both in power and patrimony: her patrimony dilapidated by the avarice of several Bishops, in making havock of the woods to enrich themselves; and more often so in making up their grants and leases to the utmost

'term, after they had been nominated to some other bishoprick, 'to the great wrong of their successors.' Her power he found 'diminished, partly by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their 'dioceses unregarded, and living together about Westminster, 'to be in a more ready way for the next preferment.' It is not, we believe, saying anything needlessly severe of the class of Bishops that the Reformation had put into the English sees, that whether or not the doctrines of the Church may have been benefited by them, they certainly did not benefit her property. A great number were systematic depredators. The system went on regularly in Laud's time: the Bishops lived in London, and sucked the Church lands dry. Indulgent kindness to his own order was no failing of Laud's. While the bishops were living comfortably round their London focus, a sudden royal decree came out, worded in an extremely business-like style, exactly to the purpose: 'Charles Rex. I. That the 'Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several sees, there 'to keep residence; excepting those which are in necessary 'attendance at Court.' The document proceeded to other items in the way of business—no reflection intended. 'II. That 'none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath purchased, nor in his town residence, if he hold any, but in one of 'his episcopal houses—and that he waste not the woods thereof.' And after going through a series of points which they were to attend to in their dioceses, it winds up with a recurrence to the subject of estates and woods:—'IX. That no Bishop shall, from 'the day of his nomination (to another see), presume to make 'any lease for three lives, or one-and-twenty years, or current lease, or any other way renew any estate, or cut any 'wood or timber, but merely to receive the rents due, and then 'quit the place. For we think it hateful that any man's leaving 'his bishopric should almost undo his successor.' The effect of this order was to scatter the episcopal nucleus at Westminster forthwith, and send their reluctant and grumbling lordships down to diocesan exile. 'The poorer bishops,' says Heylyn, 'were as much troubled as the others, and thought it the worst 'kind of banishment to be confined unto the country; complaining privately that now the court bishops had served 'their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miseries 'their poor brethren were exposed to.' The order respecting the woods and leases was no more popular with them, and they thought it very unfair 'that they could not make the best of 'their time, but were required to be good husbands for another 'man, who was to enjoy the place when they were to leave.'

The deans and chapters do not get off any better. Information comes to Laud (he is always receiving information of one

sort or other), 'that the deans and prebends of such and such churches had enriched themselves, their wives, and children, by taking great fines, for turning leases of twenty-one years into leases for lives, leaving their successors destitute,' as well as depriving the Church of a hold over a numerous class of gentry and yeomanry, occupiers of the lands,—'All which his Majesty, taking into his princely consideration, caused letters under the royal signature to be sent to all the deans and chapters of this kingdom respectively, calling and commanding them, upon pain of his utmost displeasure, that they presumed not to let any lease belonging to their church into lives.' And 'whereas some deans of cathedrals are corporations of themselves, no dean is to presume from henceforth (after his being translated), to renew any lease either unto lives or years: his Majesty having well observed, that at such times of remove many men care not what or how they let their estates, to the prejudice of the Church and their successors.' The Royal experience is certainly not complimentary to the morals of the Church dignitaries of that period. Laud was a remorseless pursuer of jobbers,—church jobbers especially. It is part of the disinterested public man's nature and instinct, which was strong in him. He brought them out of their holes with remarkable *sans froid*, bishops and archbishops, deans, and canons, and all. The exceedingly small respect which these distinguished officials meet with under such circumstances, is almost entertaining. Practice soon becomes familiar, and England and Ireland was full of the game. In Ireland all attempt at appearances is given up under the pressing emergency, and the pursuit becomes a perfect halloo and field-day after these offenders. They are caught like so many animals. Strafford has to 'trounce' them, to chastise them, 'warm them' in his castle chamber—to 'give my Lord of Cashell a little of his Irish physic.' The only difficulty was what to do with them, what to make of them, after all. To drive them up and down, and shove them like cattle, what did it do after all? That was the material they were made of. The only practical aim was to tie their hands, and get the Church revenues away from them. 'Look you to the bishops,' is Laud's summary of ecclesiastical advice to his friend. Strafford, as President of the North, carried Laud's arrangements into effect in his northern domain. And 'make an example of that unworthy Dean' of York, is an incidental notice we come across.

Laud's care and consideration for the poorer clergy, in the matter of property, was as conspicuous as his severity to the upper. All taxes were laid with the greatest attention to the diminishing ratio of poverty. He instituted a new scale of

taxation to effect this object. He relieved them in ship-money collections. At the Scotch war, when money was wanted urgently, no 'poor curates or stipendiaries' were to be made to give. The London clergy were cheated out of the value of their dues: the charge was laid upon the rent, and the owners of houses laid only nominal rent, and had large fines instead; the clergy got nothing. 'Aldermen, who do not use to dwell in 'sheds and cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty 'shillings a whole year's tythe.' The clergy, by the alteration of religion, had lost the advantages of obits, mortuaries, obventions, and were miserably off. The Court of Exchequer, in James's reign, gave them relief for some time; but the city purse prevailed at last in litigation. Laud took the matter up, and constructed a fair valuation.

Schemes for the general advantage of the Church go on. In the Diary we have reference to what looks very like Charles's known intention of restoring Church land in the royal possession. 'March 20, Sunday. His majesty put his great conscience to 'me about all, which I afterwards answered. God bless him in it.'

The restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral was a favourite object. He stirred up all the available sources of money for it in the kingdom. A hundred pounds a year his own contribution—the effects of intestate persons, that portion of them which 'it was 'proper to give to pious uses'—voluntary contributions all over the country, among the clergy especially, raised a considerable sum soon. This was a hobby of Laud's, and he was insatiable in wanting money for it. He never cast eyes on merchant, tradesman, or any substantial man, but he thought he ought to give something to St. Paul's. Every pocket was looked at, and the fertility of his mind was unwearied in catching every opening where money peeped. His hobby got him, in fact, into scrapes, which came up against him at his trial; and he paid for his perpetual Argus-eyed vigilance. A brewer at Lambeth is the complainant now. Laud was walking in his garden with Attorney-General Noy, when a great cloud of smoke from a neighbouring chimney almost suffocated them both. Noy said he should have the nuisance removed. Laud said he would not interfere with an honest man's trade, and did not mind the smoke. However, Noy, in returning home, calls on the man, and threatens him. The man comes to Laud: a bright thought strikes the latter, that this is an opportunity for getting something for St. Paul's. The man is told that his chimney is undoubtedly a nuisance, and that he ought to give St. Paul's 20*l.* in atonement for it. The man offers 10*l.*; Laud refuses to bargain, and sends him off; but the chimney was left to its fate, and fell under a blast from Attorney-General Noy.

But we must expand Laud's ecclesiastical domain, and see him in Ireland and Scotland. The work was going on under him in both these countries, at the same time that it was in England.

Laud, at the commencement of his career found three distinct churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland, differing from each other in articles and liturgy; all in confusion, and each going on in a way of its own. The Irish Church maintained the Lambeth Articles, and was Calvinized at the very centre. The Scotch Church was a complete chaos and unformed body, simply retaining the Episcopacy, without any other external marks of a Church. It had no liturgy, and the bishops were little more than moderators of Presbyterian Synods and General Assemblies. It was miserably poor, and a slight attempt in the Episcopal College to recover a modicum of the old tythes, had brought down upon them the enmity of a whole turbulent and rapacious nobility. Three weak, disordered, disunited Churches, made up the ecclesiastical system of the kingdom.

Laud's was a centralizing, consolidating mind. He did not philosophize on the subject of Church unity, or enter upon the field of Church metaphysics. He was a practical man, and had his work before him. He used the instrument of unity which the state of things provided for him, and aimed at the production of an efficient unity upon the Anglican domain. He wanted uniformity of worship—some good common basis for the whole ecclesiastical affairs of the country to go upon. He had the centralizing powers of the Crown in his hands: he brought the Churches together, and made a whole of them.

He was most fortunate in Strafford to carry out his plans in Ireland. He and Strafford had taken to each other wonderfully, and were friends together against the world, if it was necessary. They thoroughly understood and trusted each other; and the political friendship had grown into the deepest mutual affection. Strafford did what he was wanted to do in Ireland with his own peculiar despatch. Convocation was summoned in course of time, and told to give up the Lambeth Articles, and take the English ones. They remonstrated strongly; but the Viceroy's spirit was too much for them. The Articles were carried, the Canons were carried. Scholars were sent over from England, and the University of Dublin was made to receive a nucleus of Church theology, for indoctrinating afresh the Irish Church. And Laud, as Chancellor of Dublin, had also his own personal position and influence in the country.

He was less fortunate in his agent for the Scotch Church. Lord Traquair had been made what he was entirely by Laud,

who raised him from being a simple Scotch laird to an earldom, and the place of Lord Treasurer of Scotland. He pitched on him, in one of his journeys to Scotland, as his confidant and manager for the Scotch Church. Lord Traquair owed every thing to Laud, and was under every tie of personal gratitude to him that one man could be to another. But acute eyes are deceived occasionally. Laud was wrong in his man. Lord Traquair played false. He sustained the Scotch character of that day, undermined his patron, and 'communicated his secret instructions to the opposite party.' Laud depended on him for knowing the proper times at which to introduce particular changes; and he recommended purposely wrong ones, and delayed the Church manifestations till the opposite side had quite marshalled their strength to meet them.

The whole business of the Scotch Church was an unfortunate one from the first, and had a fate accompanying it; and yet there was no want of caution and forethought in the management of it. The ecclesiastical movement was made to proceed as cautiously and gradually as could be. Laud's first journey into Scotland with James produced no immediate step, and simply gave the Scotch the fact of the English Liturgy performed, for the occasion, in the royal chapel at Holyrood. An interval of some years followed, and another royal progress, for Charles's Scotch coronation, left behind it as its fruit, the regular performance of the Liturgy in Holyrood Chapel; but only in Holyrood as yet. That fact was left to make its impression on the Scotch mind, and gradually accustom them to the idea. A book of canons came next. And it was twenty years after Laud's first Scotch visit, when the real experiment of a Liturgy and Ritual was at last tried upon the nation.

A higher school of doctrine, and a centre of Church feeling, was meantime forming in the episcopal body there. The old bishopric of Edinburgh was revived, and was given to Forbes, a man of deep learning and ascetic life. The Scotch episcopacy rose in tone, and began to wish for a higher ritual, in some parts, than the English book offered; especially a new communion service, to embody the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Laud did not encourage them at all; whether from real caution, or whether he only adopted a manner, we can hardly say. He used to say, however, he had not encouraged them, that they had acted independently, and so on. 'If you really wish for it, and are in earnest among yourselves, have it,' he seems to have said; 'I cannot go farther in my position than recommend the English book: you are Scotch bishops, and have a right to your own book.' A committee of Scotch bishops, Spottiswoode, Ross, and Forbes, sat in Edinburgh, arranging the Scotch book. Laud took the deepest interest in the new Communion Service, and superin-

tended the sheets through the press. And 'inasmuch as no 'reformation in doctrine or discipline can be made perfect at 'once in any Church,' one of the newly-imposed canons left an opening for further alterations, and pronounced that it should be 'lawful for the Kirk of Scotland at any time, to make remonstrances to his Majesty,' &c. The canon, and some words he said about it, figured against him afterwards. 'Because this 'canon holds the door open to more innovation,' says the accuser at his trial, 'he writes to the prelate of Ross, his prime agent in 'all this work, of his great gladness that this "canon did stand 'behind a curtain;" and his great desire that this canon might 'be printed freely, as one that was to be most useful.'—'Vain 'accusation,' answers Laud; 'I expressly brought in the royal 'authority; I forbid all innovation of private men, lay or cleric. 'I said the canon stood behind a curtain, and I said true: it 'would not be thoroughly understood by every man.'

It is evident that the Scotch Bishops took hints easily, and followed up Laud's line just in the way a man likes his own line to be followed—as a spontaneous self-suggested one. He had an influence over them which he had not over the English Bishops generally. They gathered round him when he appeared in Scotland; and popular jealousy called them his tools, and said they anticipated his wishes before he expressed them.

Scotland and Ireland were thus growing into system and solidity under his hand, in doctrine and discipline, and external resources. A tremendous open struggle with the Irish aristocracy, ended in the addition of thirty thousand a-year to the Irish Church. The more suitable method of bargaining was resorted to with the Scotch nobles; and the abbey lands of Arbroath, Kelso, and others, restored by the Marquis of Hamilton and Earl of Roxburgh to the Church, procured these noblemen some court favours in exchange.

Laud had confused and rough materials to work upon, and he did a great deal to work them up in the way he did. He did consolidate as he professed to do; and the effect of that consolidation, in spite of intervening storms which have encroached on it, remains in part to this day. The consolidation survives, however, its original spirit. He could not perpetuate a friendly monarchy: the protean power assumed another aspect, and the English Church became secular and latitudinarian under that very power which Laud elevated in order to make her Catholic.

For his own day, however—he did not go into futurity—for his own day, he provided the English Church with what it never had before, and has never had since—an efficient government. The secret of his efficiency was, that he governed the Church himself, and allowed no other Bishop in the country at all to

interfere with him. There is a plausible colour in the charge of his enemies, that he made himself the English Pope: at least he certainly rather roughly used the absolute theory of diocesan independence. He exercised over the Episcopacy of the three kingdoms the most consummate dictatorship, and it never occurs to him to let a Bishop have his own way in his diocese. It seems at first sight natural that an Archbishop of Dublin should look after the churches in his own city; but Laud takes them off his hands. He is at home in every diocese in the three kingdoms. With the deepest reverence for the office, the man—the concrete Bishop—never once seems to have come before his imagination in any other aspect, than as a person who was to be told to do things, and to be made to do them if necessary. For the Episcopacy of the day, with the exception, almost solely, of his own appointments, he entertains a very respectable quantum of contempt. He orders them about; drills them like common soldiers. ‘Right foot, left foot, very well: here are his Majesty’s orders for you, which you will be pleased immediately to execute. I have had nothing to do with making them myself—nothing at all. I assume no power whatever over you; but I know his Majesty is very determined on these points. Your Lordships have been idling about London lately; you must go down to your dioceses all of you immediately. And when you are there, I will send my Vicar-General to look after you.’ The belief that Bishops wanted looking after quite as much as other people, is very deep in him, and from the centre of the Regale he forms them into one body round him. Annual statements go up from each diocese to head-quarters, and are inspected in business-like way. Whatever may be thought of it, the fact cannot be denied that this is a government.

The theory of the day with respect to Church government came in—forced uniformity,—puritans, recusants, all brought into the system; no fragments allowed, and all made one tight whole. The lawfulness of using force for religious purposes was a long-standing theory in the world, which had not then disappeared; and all sides made use of the secular arm, when they could get it, as a matter of course. The law, however, under a Laud and Charles, shows certainly a slight bias in its balance, and is a good deal more stringent with the Puritans than the Roman Catholics. The fines on the Recusants grew lighter and lighter throughout Charles’s reign, till at last an easy composition set them almost free. And a most strange and marked departure from the severities of Elizabeth’s, and even of James’s reign, took place.

A word or two on Laud’s use of the Regale, which has

been going on all this time. We have said he used it as an engine for the good of the Church, to raise her, and not to secularise her. This is simply a question of fact, to be determined by historical reference. A man's motive and spirit, and object in a particular line, is simply an individual internal fact about that person, to be determined by evidence, as all other facts are. No extent whatever of general objectionableness in the principle of the Regale can decide this particular fact against Laud: no *à priori* view as to the Regale itself, can decide Laud's motive in adopting it. If persons, after a candid examination of the facts of history, come to the conclusion that Laud used the Regale for the purpose of depressing and lowering the Church's sacerdotal ground, that is quite a fair line of argument, though we do not think any candid mind whatever, of any side or party, could come to that decision. But the fact cannot be predetermined upon general grounds. Laud stretched the Regale to the full, and made it do everything; he stopped short of nothing that he thought he could do by it,—this is one fact. The *animus*, ecclesiastical or secularizing, is another fact. We do not think that the English Regale, but Parliament, was the secularizing state element in the nation in Laud's day. Where does the political worldly power and animus of the nation reside now? Where has it resided since the revolution of 1688 but in parliament?—the parliament was rising rapidly to this position then. Every nation has the secularizing state element, the anti-Church principle—the *world* residing in it in some part or other of it: but it is a question of fact for the historical eye to determine, in what particular part of a nation, at a particular period, that animus does reside. We believe that the Plantagenets *were* the genuine representatives of the national power and pride in *their* day, and that therefore the state element resided in the English Regale then. The swing of Henry VIII.'s monarchy was simple nationalism, and nothing else: the nation delighted in it. The state element in Prussia and Russia evidently resides now in the Prussian and Russian monarchy, because those monarchies are the focuses respectively of the national power in those countries. But if anything is clear in English history, the fact is clear that parliament was this growing national power in the Stuart times, and that that power had left the monarchy then and passed into the mass. And the modern English monarchy is simply the reflexion of parliament, and shares its spirit.

A Churchman has one rule on this subject. Wherever that public carnal power of the world-pure resides, whether in king or people, the few or the many, with it the Church wrestles. There is our antagonist. Where royalty is against the Church, and the people for her, the churchman sides with the people; and

where the people are against the Church, and royalty for her, the churchman sides with the king. There is no unfairness or slipperiness here, for the line is a plain open one. Show us the 'world,' anywhere, and we are bound to withstand it: wherever it is, at top or at bottom, in earth or sky, concentrated in one, or diffused in a mass, that 'power of the air' is what we fight against. The Church is our home. If any power loves the Church, we love it; if not, we do not.

Nothing can show more closely that Laud's school was not exalting the Regale as such, than the marked anti-regale line in which it issued at last. The Nonjuring school, who wrote vehemently against the Regale, were legitimate successors of the Laudian one. The truth was, that under William III., the regale was against them; and under Charles I., with them. That made the difference, and a very great difference it is—what is called in ordinary affairs, all the difference. We must look historically upon these things, to be able to judge.

To return to our history. The effects of Laud's ecclesiastical administration were soon seen. One of the most prominent was the rise of the Clergy. 'The Clergy were much debased,' he said; 'but it had heretofore been otherwise; and he hoped to see it so again.' Laud exalted his order, and the elevation of the Clergy—the priesthood—to power, came more and more out, like a favourite idea, as his career advanced. He left behind him, on returning from Charles's Scotch coronation, Archbishop Spottiswoode, Chancellor of Scotland, and the Bishop of Ross, privy councillor. A greater step was the appointment of Juxon to the office of Lord High Treasurer. The staff was put into his hands with great pomp and circumstance, and he was conducted in state from London House to Westminster, the Archbishop riding by his side, and a cavalcade of noblemen and gentlemen following. 'March 6, Sunday,' says the Diary, 'William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No Churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour, and the King and State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold themselves up, under God, I can do no more.' The passage is characteristic, because his mind is so obviously going back, unconsciously, to the medieval period of the Church for its image, and congratulating itself on the partial, evanescent restoration of it, which now passes like a dream before him; and does not so much inspire him as a reality, as soothe him as a picture. He 'can do no more;' the Church may fall, after all, but its image gratifies him. The ceremonial of Charles's coronation was made to express the same idea. The

priesthood encircled the king. The Church delivered the crown into the prince's hands; she addressed him, as she crowned him: 'Stand, and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your fathers, being now delivered unto you by the authority of God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops and servants of God. And as you see the Clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be the mediator between the Clergy and the laity, that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords.'

The form of alliance which makes the Church succumb to the State, is Erastian; the form which makes it guide the State is not. Laud put power into the hands of the clergy, as being clergy. This is the very opposite of Erastianism. The modern German Church and State idea brings the Church into the world by secularizing her; absorbs her into the State first, and when she has become the State, lets her act. It is a perfectly different, distinct, opposite idea, which gives power to the priesthood, as such, and recognizes the sacerdotal element *per se* in its combination with the political.

Laud's partiality for his order was generous. The temptation in the higher ranks of Clergy is generally just the reverse—to think more of the laity than of their own brethren, and identify themselves with the influential secular world. Mere sacerdotal rank is despised, because it is not earthly rank, and is used only as a stepping-stone to it. Laud's predecessor was a remarkable contrast to him here, and exhibited all that leaning to secular rank, which has so characterized the puritanical religious school. Abbot, '*non amavit gentem nostram*,' says Heylyn: 'he favoured the laity above the Clergy in all cases which were brought before him; he forsook the birds of his own feather, to fly with others.' A country gentleman had only to make his complaint against a clergyman, and Abbot was all ear to him. He abandoned the old archiepiscopal hospitalities at Canterbury to Church tenants and poor, which all his predecessors had kept up, and feasted the Kentish gentry at Lambeth instead; and 'Westminster Hall, St. Paul's Church, and the Royal Exchange,' (the rendezvous of the day) were visited by his servants, with tickets of invitation in their hands, to catch the men of quality they saw about. Laud gave himself small concern on this head. 'He did court persons too little,' says Clarendon. People complained that he went to the other extreme, and that 'out of a dislike to that popularity which was too much affected by his predecessor, he was carried on so far as to fail in many

'necessary civilities to the nobility and gentry, by which he might have obliged them, and indeed himself.' A 'reserved and unplausible humour' was attributed to him; and one of the Kentish gentlemen, whom Abbot had feasted, and he had not, was observed to 'throw the first dirt at him' in parliament, when his troubles came. He made nobles and gentry frown, the Clergy look up: and great men were alarmed, and annoyed, as 'they did observe the inferior Clergy took more upon them than they were wont, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality, or their patrons themselves, with that civility and condescension they used to do; which disposed them likewise to withdrawing their countenance and good neighbourhood from them.'

The rise of an ecclesiastical discipline began to be felt. It made its appearance under a parti-coloured secular garb, but still the ecclesiastical *animus* was seen underneath, and hated as such. The High Commission Court, with all its lay lords and privy councillors, worked by the Archiepiscopal head, showed an *animus*. It attacked the immoralities of the nobles with boldness; and the fault charged upon law, that it catches the small offenders, and lets the great ones through, was not seen there. 'He intended the discipline of the Church,' says Clarendon, 'should be felt as well as spoken of; and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressor, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences, and meaner offenders; and therefore called for and cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power and will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality at the Court, and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court upon the fame of their incontinence or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment,' and complained of what they called 'the insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people.' Laud was working a dangerous weapon for himself, and the resentment of an offended nobility retaliated fearfully upon him at his trial. 'They never forgot' these acts, and 'watched for revenge,' English, Irish, Scotch nobles—he had come into contact with them all. The Church sentence and rebuke, the Church lands got back, the Church an obstacle and sore point in some way, were remembered. The strength of the nobles, and the pride which accompanies strength, had been growing apace, as the royalty was declining. 'The grandees of the Puritan faction,' says Heylyn, 'after the first heats were over in Queen Elizabeth's time, carried on their work for thirty years together like moles

‘underground, not casting up any earth before them till they had made so strong a party in the House of Commons, that they could do anything.’ And a still larger class, ‘who loved the established government of the Church, and the exercise of religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, and did not dislike the order and decency which they saw mended, yet liked not any novelties, and entertained jealousies’ (how descriptive of the conservatives of the day) were sore about the whole movement. It is the national character over again. How aptly does the whole of Clarendon’s account—the more so from his own sympathies with the class he mentions—apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to our present movements. The instinctive, vague, antagonistic sensation, which the English mind feels on the first symptoms of the Church moving, and showing life, seems to be hereditary in us. The greater honour to him who did not shrink from encountering it. It should ever be remembered, as a piece of historical justice to Laud, that his was a contest with the great of this world; that the honourer and cherisher of his poor clerical brethren, brought the high noble before the bar, rebuked his vices, or made him refund his spoils, and fought the Church battles with him.

A new theological race of Clergy had sprung up under Laud’s administration. The tone of the clerical body was altered; and a theological school, which was a mere handful when he commenced life at Oxford, had spread over the country in all directions. Oxford itself, from being a focus of Calvinism, had come round, and hardly knew its new reflexion in the theology of Jeremy Taylor and Hammond. A puritan remnant remained, and perambulated their old haunts, but they felt their occupation of the place gone, and saw another standard on the ascendant, a new *genius loci* penetrating the air. The crowds of Clergy whom the rebellion and directory threw out of their places, show the strong growth that had been going on in the Church at large, and the change of Church of England theology that a few years had brought about. Laud was popular with the inferior Clergy, though not much so with his brethren on the bench. He stood up for their rights, watched their interests, saw that they were not ill-used; was courteous to them, when they came personally across him; would take great pains, by private talking and arguing, to convert any of them from puritanical tendencies. The bias of his mind was toward the inferior Clergy,—the direct open puritan of course excepted. It is the natural tendency of a centre toward the mass; and the mass returns the compliment. The mass gathers round its centre, and rejoices in a good strong hold in the middle of it, in feeling something beyond the adjacent boundary and

local defence. Laud was an immoveable personal centre of the Churchmanship in the nation. They knew they could trust him; that they could lean upon him, and that he would not give way. His was an absolute pertinacious real substance, formed and hardened in a perpetual life of action and responsibility, risk and trial. Whatever there was of him was solid stone; a mind, by undergoing a certain ordeal, mineralizes, and turns into hard transparent metal, into a crystal steel occupant of the bodily frame. There he stood in the middle, and concentrated singly the hardness of the mass. The Clergy were proud of him, and took their cue from him; and called him high-sounding names, and addresses and eulogiums adopted the '*Sanctitas tua*,' and the '*Summus Pontifex*,' and the '*Arcangelus*,' and '*Quo rectior non stat regula*.'—'The meanest title of them,' he says, 'far too much applied to my person and unworthiness.'—'High language for such an unworthy person;'—'absolute hyperbole,' but well meant, only a way of expressing 'that I deserved well of them;'—'effusions from a luxuriant pen that ran upon these phrases.'

Laud was not inattentive to public opinion. With all his use of power, he made use of the press as well; argued in print; and answered what came out on the Puritan side. Heylyn's '*Antidotum Lincolnienſe*' answered Williams's attack on the Communion table question. The Scotch Liturgy was followed immediately by an '*Apology*;' Bishop Hall wrote his '*Divine Right of Episcopacy*' to counteract the rising Scotch Presbyterian influence before the Invasion. The state of the religious press in general, apart from the peculiar points of controversy, was attended to, and the rise of Socinian principles in the books of the day had created his alarm. Hales, of Éton, wrote a latitudinarian treatise, in which he carried out the right of private judgment to its full development, and, in short, quite forestalled the liberal theory of the present day. Laud sent for him, and they argued together the whole morning. The hour for dinner broke off the discussion. Heylyn tells us it had a great effect upon Hales, who told him (Heylyn) that his opinions had been much changed by it. Mr. Hallam does not believe Heylyn here. We can only say that Heylyn asserts it as a fact, and that there is no reason why it should not be true. The School of Hoadley and the eighteenth century had its seed in the English Church even now, which favouring circumstances afterwards brought out. And even direct Socinian books had, in the confusion of religious war, crept in to a formidable extent. Laud weeded the press of them.

We have attempted something of an outline of Laud's career. He acted boldly, and he paid for it; he had his endurance taxed considerably. The attacks which poured in upon him

from all sides throughout were, in multitudinous vehemence, equal to what any public man in this world ever experienced. The fact that Prynne's ears were cut off by an order of Star Chamber, is considered by many to have been an ample internal satisfaction to him for his whole personal experience from this quarter. Without defending cutting off ears, and the punishments of the day, it is only fair to say that Prynne was not punished as an assailant of Laud, but as a simple criminal. His abuse of the Royal Majesty and the King's ministers was a simple crime then, just as stealing was, and he was punished for it.

The Puritans had an unrivalled command of vituperative phraseology and fertility in calling names, which found a full vent in this channel. Libels sprang up out of the ground, as thick as snakes in Oriental herbage. They found their way to Laud's closet, study, dining-room, bedroom. His very office of Press-censorship brought them under his eyes, and the writers had the satisfaction of knowing, that if even their production was stopped, Laud had seen it, and had had his own suspended effigy brought to his own windows. And, indeed, these portraiture were no pleasing objects even of closet-inspection. Laud's library-table concentrated under his eye, in camera-obscura reflection, the bitterness and hostilities of a whole excited world without. The titles of Prynne's 'Quench-Coal,' and 'News from Ipswich,' Bastwick's 'Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium,' 'The Hystrio-Mastix,' and one or two others, have just survived out of a vast ephemeral ocean of pamphlets. A grotesque irony, and an unmeasured hyperbole, alternate; fierce grins and dreadful foulness; 'Arch-piety, Arch-charity, 'Arch-wolf,' Arch agent for the devil, Beelzebub himself become Archbishop, the devil's most triumphant arch to adorn 'his victories,'—is a specimen of the more witty and polished style of vituperation. These pamphlets stuck at nothing, raked up stories, abused him for his birth, or ridiculed his size; or called him dirt, or filth, or poison; were simple nonsense and trash, except for the animus of dreadful enmity which all this grotesqueness expressed. Odd people and monomaniacs became the strays and waifs of the popular feeling, and took a fancy for attacking Laud. 'One Boyer, a felon just 'broke out of prison, grossly abused him to his face, accusing 'him of high treason.'—'One Greene, a poor decayed printer ' (for whom Laud had got a pension of five pounds a year from 'the Company of Stationers), adventured into the Court of St. 'James's with a great sword by his side, desperately swearing 'that if the King would not do him justice with the Archbishop, 'he would take another course with him.' One Lady Davies 'scatters a prophecy against him.' This lady 'had the reputa-

'tion of a "cunning woman" among the common people, and she prophesies of the Archbishop, that he should live but two days after the fifth of November. She is brought before the High Commission. The woman had grown so mad, that she fancied the spirit of the prophet Daniel had been infused into her body. And this she grounded on an anagram which she made on her name, viz.—*Eleanor Davies,—Reveal, O Daniel.* Much pains was taken by the Court to dispossess her of this spirit, but all would not do, till Lamb, the Dean of Arches, shot her through and through with an arrow borrowed from her own quiver. For while the bishops and divines were reasoning the point with her out of holy Scripture, he took a pen in his hand, and hit upon this excellent anagram, viz.—*Dame Eleanor Davies,—Never so mad a ladie.* "Madam," said he, "I see you build much on anagrams, and I have found out one which I hope will fit you." He read it aloud, which brought the grave Court to such laughter, and the woman to such confusion, that she grew either wiser, or was less regarded afterwards.' A wild, furious world of enemies, had much more formidable ones above them; and violence and vulgarity had their main sting in the black looks of great men enjoying the scene. After all, it is not pleasant to be really hated by any man; it is not pleasant to be abused. A vulgar fellow abuses you in the streets; he may be as vulgar as the dirt; still there is the fact—you are abused; and the words physically touch you, as it were, and there is defilement.

Laud's was a peculiarly sensitive mind, acutely realizing this metaphysical dirt and foulness, and feeling that it swallowed something nasty in the process of abuse. No quantity of experience familiarized him to it. A crowd of faces, and eyes staring, mouths railing at him, as if he were some monster, are pictured in his mind. He has a dislike to be stared at. He 'stays at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the people.' The sensation of 'being gazed at,' as if a gaze was a sort of tangible nuisance inflicted, and a low intrusion, comes out unconsciously often; reminding one almost of the feeling of children against being looked at. And 'being railed at,'—'jeered' (he dreams of courtiers jeering him), was a sort of reality in the same way; a material plastering, as it were, of so much offensive substance upon him. He 'endures' a mob's railing, by the pure power of mental prayer at the time, as if it were a regular sustained passive contact with literal external evil. We mean, that he could not bear these demonstrations of hatred: *i. e.* could bear it, but never without deeply feeling them.

Laud had that particular framework of mind which domiciliates and harbours all hostile phenomena without. A curious

mixture of innocence and self-complacency makes some persons never see when they are treated ill. The fact glances off from them without making any impression, and does not gain an entrance into their imperturbable easy good-nature. Another class of mind is a magazine of hostile matter, a military dépôt. A shadowy archetype of war resides within them, and readily admits the phenomena from without—a word, a look, a sign, a gesture of another; and they are the theatre of a perpetual invisible strife; and metaphysical forces and strategies, ambuscades, surprises, retreats, the arrow from a corner, and a *terra incognita* of foes, compose the dark background of the interior mental scene. The mind carries on a perpetual unconscious reference to some protean enemy, here or there, or everywhere: it talks to itself of enemies, prays against them; longs for deliverance from its enemies. There is a religious form of this habit of mind. The Psalms are full of the mention of the enemy. ‘The ungodly bend the bow, and make ready their arrows within the quiver, that they may privily shoot at him who is true of heart.’ The ‘soul is among lions:’ ‘the enemy persecutes her, lays snares for her, speaks evil of her: she goeth heavily, and would flee as a bird unto the hill, while the enemy oppresseth her.’

Laud’s devotions are peculiarly indicative of this state of mind. Their characteristic tone almost makes them unfit for ordinary use; the individual so pervades them. He is labouring under a pressure, engaged in a hard unpromising struggle, surrounded by enemies and persons who wish him evil, with the snare and the pit open for him, and he prays against them. All sides think themselves in the right, and yet there is a quietness and depth in the Church’s confidence in the rightness of her side, which her opponents want. The most perfect tranquil assurance that he is fighting against the enemies of God, appears in Laud’s devotions; and a career of simple religious sincerity, doing what it thinks its mere duty and work, is their substratum. He expresses his weariness and his longings in the prayer of St. Augustine: ‘Long time, O Lord, have I struggled against heresies, and am almost wearied. Come, Lord Jesus, mightiest Warrior, Prince of the host of the Lord, Conqueror of the devil and the world: take arms and shield, and rise up and help me.’—‘*Tempore adverso*’—‘*Auxilium*’—‘Deliverance’—appear at the margin of the prayers. ‘Deal with me, O God, according to Thy name, for sweet is Thy mercy. O deliver me, for I am helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me.’—‘Mine eyes are ever looking unto Thee, O Lord; O pluck my feet out of the net.’—‘I deal with the thing that is lawful and right, O give me not over unto mine oppressors:’—‘let the

'proud do me no wrong.'—'I have heard the blasphemy of the multitude, and fear is on every side.'—'Thou hast fed me with the bread of tears, and given me plenteousness of tears to drink.' 'I am become a very strife unto my neighbours, and mine enemies laugh me to scorn.'—'Gracious Father, the life of man is a warfare upon earth—be present with me in the services of my calling. That which I cannot foresee, I beseech Thee prevent; that which I cannot withstand, I beseech Thee master: that which I do not fear, I beseech Thee unmask and frustrate.—Especially, O Lord, bless and preserve me at this time from M. N. that I may glorify Thee for this deliverance also.' A religious pleasure which a mind has, that feels itself to be genuine and transparent, in the appeal to the heart within—the communion with the *φίλη ψυχῇ*, and turning to her for society, love, and repose; the confidence and clear air within, appear in Laud.

We must go back again to Laud as a Statesman. Side by side with the ecclesiastical administration, a host of other duties devolved upon him in the State department.

The University of Oxford lay half-way between the two. He was no nominal Chancellor there; it got a real head to look after it, when it chose him. An interval of twenty years found Laud in a rather curiously different position there, to what he started with; and the once hit at and preached at fellow of St. John's, was ruling the University with a high hand, from his library at Lambeth. 'I pray,' is his first letter to the Vice-Chancellor after his appointment, 'call the Heads of Colleges and Halls together, together with the Proctors, and with my love remembered to them all, let them know I am welcomed unto my Chancellorship with many complaints from very great men.' The 'outward and visible form of the University,' he hears, 'is utterly decayed, so that strangers that come, have hardly any mark by which they know it is a University.' He proceeds immediately to the revival of proper academical 'Formalities,' in the 'Schools, Convocation, Congregation houses, Latin sermons.'—'Put the tables of statute observance on St. Mary's doors,' he concludes, 'and proceed to the execution of them.' Letter after letter gave his directions about the discipline of the place, down to the minutest details. 'And I pray you,' he writes, 'see that none of the youth be suffered to go in boots and spurs, or to wear their hair indecently long, or with a lock in the present fashion, or with slashed doublets, or in any light or garish colours. And if noblemen will have their sons court it too soon, the fault shall be theirs, not mine.' He will allow no 'riding school, or suffer the scholars to fall into the old humour of going up and down in boots and spurs, and

'then having this excuse ready, that they are 'going to the 'riding-house.'—'And for Mr. Crofts, and his great horses, he 'may carry them back, if he pleases, as he brought them.'—'I pray give Mr. Crofts thanks fairly for his good intentions, 'but he must not stay.' 'And farther, I would have you speak 'with the Principal of Brasenose, that he would command their 'cellar to be better looked to—(he is writing about having more 'orderly disputations)—that no strong and unruly argument be 'drawn from that topic place.' Academical Disputations, times of Morning and Evening College prayer, the revival of the Holy Communion at the beginning of term, instructions as to Church-reverence, succeed one another. The Procuratorial cycle was his remedy for the disorders then attending the public election of the Proctors; and the Laudian statute book, together with alterations, laboriously abridged and arranged, bears witness to the chaotic mass to which a period of neglect had reduced the University statutes.

The commission of the Treasury, in 1635, brought a wholly new and complicated department of state-business upon him. An interval of some time had released him in some measure from political business, and allowed him to devote himself more exclusively to the Church; but the discovery of frauds in the Treasury, again brought him into the thick of it. He determined to see that department put to rights. He, Coventry, Cottington, and the great state officers, constituted the commission. His brother statesmen were not at all obliged to him for his public spirit and threatened reforms, and thwarted him with considerable malice. 'His old friend Windebank forsook him in the matter,' says the Diary, 'and joined with the Lord Cottington; which put him to 'the exercise of a great deal of patience.'—'For your Spaniard, '[to Strafford] and the gravity which he learnt there, while he 'went to buy pigeons, hath tempted my old friend the Secretary 'from me, and is become his man. So I have need to look to 'myself.' Cottington (the Spaniard) was no friend of Laud's at any time; and Clarendon gives a story of his taking in Laud on one occasion, by a story of the king, a great lover of the sport, going to turn some royal farms into a hunting chase. It was a lie of Cottington's, and Laud gave the King a warm lecture upon his extravagance for nothing, except that his majesty was amused at the mistake. Cottington seems to have intended something more serious. Laud had a whole set of half-enemies about him at court, and his and Strafford's alliance was an object of fear and jealousy to the myrmidons of that sphere.

Laud, at sixty-two, set to work thoroughly to get up treasury business. An anecdote illustrates his official sway. The great battle in the financial department then was between the public

service and private men, the interests of a class of farmers and monopolists, and the interests of the royal exchequer; and the mercantile world suffered grievously by these jobs.

‘There was a merchant of the greatest reputation (Daniel Harvey), who having a country house within the distance of a few miles from Croydon, and understanding the whole business of trade more exactly than most men, was always very welcome to the Archbishop, who used to ask him many questions about such matters. Upon an accidental discourse between them, what encouragement merchants ought to receive, who brought a great trade into the kingdom, Mr. Harvey mentioned the discouragements they had received in the late times by the rigour of the Earl of Portland, in matters that related nothing to the king’s service, but to the profit of private men.’—A long story follows:—‘Lord Portland, the treasurer, compelled the merchants to land their fine goods, silks and linens, at Customhouse Quay; whereas they had always been free to ship or unship such goods at what wharf they would chuse for their convenience.’ But the Customhouse Quay belonged to private wharfingers, who had secured Lord Portland’s interest; and the great constraint and loss of time to the trade of the country gave way to a job. The Archbishop heard the story ‘with great indignation.’ A general petition of the trade, and the assistance of ‘Mr. Hyde,’ afterwards Lord Clarendon, rectified the abuse.

‘The Archbishop,’ says Clarendon, ‘laid down one principle for himself, which he believed would much advance the King’s service—that the King’s duties being provided for, and cheerfully paid, the merchants should receive all the countenance and protection from the King that they could expect. He was careful that what accrued of burden to the subject should redound to the benefit of the Crown, and not enrich projectors at the charge of the people. This vigilance and inclination in the Archbishop opened the door to the admission of any merchants or others to him, who gave him information of this kind; and who being ready to pay any thing to the King, desired only protection from private oppressors.’

Laud carried on the commission of the treasury for a year, and got acquainted with all the holes and corners of the office; ‘the mysteries and secrets of it, the honest advantages which the Lord Treasurers had for enriching themselves (to the value of seven thousand pounds a year, and upwards), as I’ (we quote Heylyn), ‘have heard from his own mouth, without defrauding the King or abusing the subject.’ ‘He had observed that divers treasurers, of late years, had raised themselves from very mean and private fortunes, to the titles and estates

‘of earls;’ and he determined to have a treasurer who would ‘not play such a game—a man ‘who had no family to raise, ‘no wife and children to provide for.’ Bishop Juxon did not disappoint his patron; and the honourable testimony of an enemy, Lord Falkland, declared in parliament, ‘that in an ‘unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation ‘and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, ‘either of the crozier or the staff.’ He conducted the business of the treasurership with great ability, and gave universal satisfaction.

The appointment of Strafford to Ireland brought a whole flood of public business upon him from that quarter. Strafford’s scheming prolific mind made him its medium and advocate at head quarters, and he had to get up the whole multitudinous arrangements of the Irish administration, in order to put them in shape and favourable aspect before Charles and the government at home. In the midst of enemies, Irish and English, court treacheries and coolnesses, Strafford depended solely upon Laud, and no one other support. If Laud had failed him, he must have gone. They were mutually necessary for each others’ plans; and while Strafford worked hard for Laud in Ireland, Laud worked hard for Strafford at home; and with the financial department in England upon him, threw himself into the whole sea of Irish finance as well, and entered into all Strafford’s new plans of revenue, customs, colonizations, fisheries, abolitions of farms, jobs, monopolies, linen-manufactories, articles for taxation, patents and patentees, coinage, money-circulation, subsidies, parliamentary management, military security, viceroy ceremonial and etiquette, and the world of questions which issued out of Strafford’s creative administration. A curious mixture of Church and State, with all their respective ramifications, deaneries, bishoprics, stalls, tithes, commendams, pluralities, alienations, frauds, restoration of church spoils, legal prosecution of the spoilers, buying in impropriations, convocation, articles, canons, Calvinism, University education, the Provost and the Primate, and their disputes, Bramhall, Lesly, Bedel, Usher—with tobacco and tallow, and Cottington and Court, &c. &c. meets our eye. ‘I am a-weary,’ he says, at the beginning of a letter; and ‘I am a-weary,’ he says, at the end of a letter. ‘I am heartily a-weary,’—‘and I was never so busy as I am at this present.’ And ‘now I have done with your long letters;’ and ‘let me not have your long letters again just now.’

Sympathy, cheerfulness, and affection, however, appear in every letter; quiet advice occasionally, as from an older, though not so brilliant a head; numerous hits and nicknames; sly railery sometimes upon his correspondent himself. Strafford’s high

spirit, sensitiveness, enthusiastic aspirings, internal disgusts, he quite enters into, and tries to calm. 'All able, and all hearty, and 'all running one way, and none caring for any ends so that the 'king be served.'—Strafford: 'By your lordship's leave, a branch 'of Plato's commonwealth, which flourishes at this day nowhere 'but in Utopia.'—Laud. A side hit at Strafford's oratorical propensities, and dashing way of doing things.—'Every body 'liked your carriage and discourse to the council, but thought it 'too long, and that too much strength was put into it. *But you 'see what it is to be an able speaker.*' A hint given about Strafford's prosecutions, that they were doing him harm. 'Some persons whisper against your proceedings in Ireland as being over- 'full of personal prosecutions, and instance Lord Wilmot, Lord 'St. Alban's, &c. I know that you have a great deal more 'resolution in you than to decline any service for the barking of 'discontented persons; and yet, my lord, if you could find a 'way to do all these services and decline these storms, it would 'be excellent well thought on. I pray your lordship to pardon 'me this freedom, which I brought with me into your friendship.' Soothings of his court disappointments and sense of Charles's neglect come in. 'You know the workings of a court,' and 'these things cannot be helped,' and 'a king is prevented by circumstances from appreciating his good servants as he ought;' and 'to reward aright is not in every governor's skill and good 'fortune.'

Entire weariness of business has a burst occasionally, and a good hearty laugh in the middle of a letter—the subject, Strafford's gout, on which he strings a good-natured hit at his friend's imperious tendencies. 'I see you conceal your infirmities, for your brother tells me you have the gout, but there's 'not a word of it in your letter. This 'tis to write with your 'fingers, and not with your toes: had you been to write with 'these, I should have heard some complaints, or discovered it 'by your manner of writing. I promise you, you can make 'haste that can get the gout so soon; I thought you had been 'contented to stay till you had been nearer three-score first; 'tis no such lovely companion, and I know you would be glad 'to be rid of it. Well now, there's work for Dr. Williams; 'and I know if he had not been so near you, you would have 'sent to me for my counsel, who have more skill in these things 'than you are aware of. And though he be there, I'll venture 'to prescribe for you. Take heed of applying any medicine to 'it that may beat it back, but draw it out into public as much 'as you can; and while you have so good an advantage, follow 'it; use your power in both houses, make an act of parliament 'against it; that if ever it comes to lay hold of you again,

‘especially when you are busy in the king’s service, it shall incur your high displeasure, and be expelled the castle, so soon as ever you are rid of it, and not return again, under pain of being endured there against your will. Indeed, I much marvel how it durst venture upon you in parliament time, and verily think, it would hardly have been so bold, had it not had the suffrages of some mutineers in the house.’

In going through Laud’s whole career, we are struck not with its vigour after all, as with its magnitude and comprehensiveness. Some characters strike immediately : others progressively. *Crescit eundo* applies remarkably to some men : the circle widens, the space unfolds within them. A narrow opening conducts into the interior, and a want of room is felt at first ; a moving boundary of dusk and twilight walls you in, and seems to threaten a standstill every minute. The scene enlarges with exploring, avenues thicken, and paths diverge ; a forest tract insensibly appears. The cathedral area and dimensions disappoint the eye at first, but the ground expands with stepping, and the idea of size and vastness comes gradually as an impression produced upon the internal sense, and intellectual shadow upon the mind. Physical force acts either by quick blow, or slow pressure. Power, greatness, talent, either concentrate themselves in particular strokes, or cover the ground by steady advance, and uniform expansion. Laud’s was a large mind. We mean that largeness, capacity, dimension, was its particular characteristic, as distinguished from other kinds of greatness. Scripture talks about ‘largeness of heart, even as the sand which is on the sea shore.’ His accessibleness, affability, openness, and all those features of the genuine public character, and presence of mind, attention always ready, ear alive and willing to be engaged by any new comer, and absorbing quietly the visitor and his information, the man and his facts together ; his powers of *ab extra* sympathy, his comprehensive friendships and alliances ; varied tastes, love of learning, wide liberal patronage, and the whole fertile and diversified industry of his mind, brought to bear on the one object of the Church—all this ground grows upon one. Church and Court, and all their ramifications—Scotch Church, Irish Church, discipline, doctrine, Strafford, the Universities, the Treasurership, grow upon one. An idea of extent comes upon one—an idea which we are afraid has suggested itself to our readers already,—and one mind’s arch seems to cover a good space. The variety of the scene mingles indeed with a sort of haze and gloom below, with underground toil and pressure, and the secret chamber, and the private meeting, and mysterious cells and corners. Shades come over the scene, and the air waves with dreamy hues, and the purple and the gold, the court splendour

and episcopal throne, gleam through rolling vapour and subtle intersection; and we are in an intricate complex interior, a labyrinth and subterranean domain of mind.

Homer has devoted one of his poems to a description of the union of the political character with feeling and nature. Accomplished statesmanship, art, and penetration; subtlety, fertility, experience, mark pre-eminently the hero of the Odyssey. He knows human nature, human ways, and is conversant with courts and cities;—Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω· men and minds are his sphere; he is acquainted with man; has traversed the human world, and come into genuine contact with the race. He shows its results in a temper of courtesy, moderation, endurance; he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer more. Simplest heart and affectionateness unite with political talent; and the sweetness of home and kindred follows the subtle practical mind over the earth, overpowering it with purest longings and devotion. The image of flourishing, peaceful Ithaca is always before his mind, and crowns the journey's end; he feeds on past reminiscences, and lives on the hope of seeing the past once more present. The Odyssean type is peculiarly illustrative of Laud's mind;—human life, the world, mankind its sphere;—men and minds, minds and men, man *en masse*, and man the individual; his formidable numbers, and his still more formidable units; the subject-matter of his labour, endurance, management, experience, skill. Solid experience, ethical skill,—whoever really possesses it,—most sobering intoning moulding to the mind; fruit of self-discipline, height of mental accomplishment and art, which is all but virtue! His long journey through courts and cities, pursued a bright image of the Church,—a visionary Ithaca, which fled further and further from him as he seemed to approach it, till a black cloud stood at last in its place, and disclosed a scaffold.

Laud was a genuine priest—the priest in the political atmosphere. That love of his order—that partiality for priestly celibacy show the priest. Some over free speeches of his on the point of celibacy got him into a scrape, and people were getting alarmed, when he suddenly displayed himself in a very marked way, at the marriage of one of his chaplains, and quieted suspicion. We see a corner of that priestly mixture of subtlety and humility in him; that mode of managing which is popularly accused of being imperious and underhand at the same time. We describe it by what the superficial popular accuser calls it, for the sake of convenience, without pausing to say what it really is—which would take us too much time.

There is an observable tendency in him perpetually to disclaim his own influence, and throw the originating character

upon others. He acts under a shield, and has an influence in motion about him, which he set moving in the first instance, but just does not do the thing itself. And a peculiar subtlety of mind, enables to say in the case of things that he certainly exceedingly wished to be done, and certainly had a great deal to do with, that somehow or other, he did not do them. The Regale, and the High Court of Commission, are his great Ajacian shield in the first instance, and although it was perfectly well known that he did everything that was done there, he keeps up the form of an amusing ostentatious humility throughout, in a jealous reference of everything to the Board; of whose perfect independence, and mere voluntary motion, he tolerates no suspicion. He is even exceedingly concerned at some of their acts, on particular occasions—especially so, in the case of his great opponent the Lord Keeper Williams. Five several times does he go down on his knees to the king, to beg for leniency to the Lord Keeper; but his majesty is resolute, inexorable to entreaty: the Lord Keeper goes to the wall. It is a singular fact, that a certain shade of intricacy and subtlety does hover around a particular class of characters; and that most unquestionably high and disinterested men exhibit themselves in a colour, which to the mass must inevitably have the look of simple deceit. We hit against the corners of a casuistical world, and catch a puzzling glimpse of a very shadowy intersected interior. An internal distinction enables Laud to be first the rigorous prosecutor and then the compassionate intercessor; and separates what his evidence does, from what he himself does against Williams. The evidence is indeed too strong for the intercession; but he cannot help certain facts telling. He lets the trial and the case have their own full swing; but he stands outside of it, and has his own attitude for himself. A man with a good substratum of power finds that other persons do things for him, and sees his own wishes carried out in advance, and operates as a kind of invisible spring to a circle of action around him. The High Commission Court was in the unconscious habit of obedience to Laud, while Laud was modestly declining even the exercise of his own vote at times, whenever he might be considered a personally interested party. Laud had nothing to do with the Scotch Liturgy; and he had nothing to do with theological books that came out. The Scotch Bishops did one thing; his chaplains did another; the High Commission another; the king another. He only does nothing at all; and sees all the world in motion, he himself unaccountably quiescent. His examination at his trial is a perfect specimen of this species of casuistry: it proceeds on the theory, that he has a right to say what the opposite side cannot legally prove against him; that he

has a right to the advantages of a position, to say—that is true as far as you are concerned, you have no right to question me further than the bare outside goes: I give you the outside; and take it, and make what you can out of it.

What mixes oddly, however, with this cautious, subtle habit of mind, is the impatience and irritableness which is charged to him. We do not believe all that is said of him here, but he does seem never to have got over a natural defect he had in the shape of an excessive and morbid sensitiveness. He could often calm it, and often not; and perpetually struggled with it. A hard experience never endowed him with absolute political temper and coolness, and a bad voice, and some defect of manner, did him injustice on this head. Nature does not allow some people to express themselves truly, but refracts what they do through some angular or rough medium. We are referring here principally to Clarendon's account of Laud.

A word about Clarendon. We can trust Clarendon's description of one of the regular class of statesmen and men of the world; he draws it exactly; but he does not appreciate higher characters, and makes mistakes. He sets down Laud as a precipitate, headstrong person, when the truth simply is, that he does not enter into ends and objects he was contending for, and thinks that unimportant which Laud thought important. The charge of precipitancy over and over again, indeed, is simply a criticism on ends, and not on means, and only expresses a difference as to first principles between the critic and the person he judges. Strafford, in the same way, he obviously does not in the least understand, and is as unfair to him as possible, simply from not understanding him. With all deference to Clarendon's greatness in his own department of mind, he has much narrowness and pedantry.

Clarendon patronizes Laud rather amusingly. He admires the 'splendour of his piety,' and feels grateful for his patronage and the business he got him as a lawyer in early life. We hear how Mr. Hyde 'first came to be known to the Archbishop, who ever afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him on all occasions, and took particular notice of him when he came as counsel in any causes depending at the council-board, inasmuch that Mr. Hyde (who well knew how to cultivate these advantages) was used with more countenance by all the judges in Westminster-Hall, and the eminent practisers, than was usually given to men of his years; so that he grew every day in practice, of which he had as much as he desired.' The young lawyer, in return for the Archbishop's patronage, gives him the benefit of his good advice, and a lecture. 'The greatest want the Archbishop had was of a true friend, who would seasonably

‘tell him of his infirmities.’ Mr. Hyde supplies that deficiency.

Mr. Hyde’s free expostulation with the Archbishop.—‘He found the Archbishop early walking in the garden, who received him, according to his custom, very graciously, and continuing his walk, asked him, “What good news from the country?” To which he answered, there was none good; the people were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that many people spoke extreme ill of his Grace, as the cause of all that was amiss. He replied that he was sorry for it; he knew he did not deserve it; and that he must not give over serving the king and the Church to please the people. Mr. Hyde told him he thought he need not lessen his zeal for either, and that it grieved him to find persons of the best conditions, and who loved both king and Church, exceedingly indevoted to him; complaining of his manner of treating them when they had occasion to resort to him: and then named two persons of the most interest and credit in Wiltshire, who had that summer attended the council-board; that all the lords present used them with great courtesy, and that he alone spake sharply to them; and one of them, supposing that somebody had done him ill offices, went the next morning to Lambeth, to present service to him, and to discover, if he could, what misrepresentation had been made of him; that after he had attended very long, he was admitted to speak with his Grace, who scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that “he had no time for compliments,” which put the other much out of countenance. And that this kind of behaviour was the discourse of all companies of persons of quality.

‘He (Laud) heard the relation very patiently and attentively, and discoursed over every particular with all imaginable condescension; and said, with evident show of trouble, that “he was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that he meant very well; that by an imperfection of nature, which he said often troubled him, he might deliver the resolution of the council in such a tone and with a sharpness of voice, that made men believe he was angry, when there was no such thing.—That he did well remember that one of them, (who was a person of honour) came afterwards to him, at a time when he was shut up about an affair of importance which required his full thoughts, but that as soon as he heard of the others being without, he sent for him, himself going into the next room, and received him very kindly as he thought; and supposing that he came about business, asked what his business was, and the other answering that he had no business, but continuing his address with some ceremony, he had indeed said, that he had no time for com

‘pliments, but he did not think he went out of the room in that manner.’

‘He was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply very freely on the subject,’ who said, ‘He observed that the gentlemen had too much reason for the report they made; and he did not wonder they had been much troubled with his carriage toward them; that he did exceedingly wish, that he would more reserve his passion; and that he would treat persons of honour and quality and interest in their country with more courtesy and condescension. He said, smiling, that he could only undertake for his heart; that he had very good meaning; for his tongue, he could not undertake that he should not sometimes speak more hastily and sharply than he should do (which oftentimes he was sorry and reprehended himself for), and in a tone which might be liable to misinterpretation, with them who were not well acquainted with him.—After this free discourse, Mr. Hyde ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more familiarity: upon which he always concluded that, if the Archbishop had had any true friend, who could in proper seasons have dealt frankly with him, he would not only have received it very well, but have profited by it.’

Mr. Hyde is obviously a very sagacious adviser, and Mr. Hyde is very well satisfied with the impression which his lecture makes on the Archbishop,—an impression, however, we will venture to say, which would not have been produced quite to the extent to which it was, if the Archbishop had not fixed his eye on Mr. Hyde as a person who might be made considerable use of some day, and felt that one avenue to Mr. Hyde’s affections, was, to listen patiently to an edifying prose from him. The young barrister judicially lecturing the Archbishop, and the Archbishop’s acquiescence in the censure; the mixture of genuine humility and eye cast downwards, with the side glance of the statesman, is a characteristic scene.

Large, subtle, knotty mind; that from your deep corner wielded a court, and caught its great men, one after another, and made them know and feel you individually, through an outward unkind mould of nature, and turned them to your purpose! The man of the world with the sensitiveness of a child; the courtly animus struggling through physical defects of manner; caution, fire; acuteness, simplicity; Laud’s character is a whole, though a complex one.

We are approaching the end of Laud’s career. The rejection of the Liturgy in Scotland, and the whole scene accompanying it,—a raging crowd, a Bishop assaulted in the very church, and obliged to escape for his life; a conspiracy of nobles, and the Solemn League and Covenant erected by scheming heads upon

the passions of the mob, had a fatal appearance. The watchword raised, the nucleus formed, hundreds flocked in. A resentful nobility, whose pride Laud had offended, joined them in England, and secret communications were established between the two countries. Nobles, gentry, and great men of all kinds; the Democrats and the Conservatives of the day, both of them—all who disliked the Church, and Church power, chimed in openly and secretly, either with their opposition or their half support; preachers assumed fresh impetus; pulpits were rostrums, congregations mobs; and a whole world was in motion against Laud, Strafford, and the Church-Cabinet.

There is something remarkable in the way in which Laud's animation seems to grow, as he gets older. A reverse process to the usual one tamed his spirit in the first part of his life, and raised it in the latter: and we are surprised, when we come to the Strafford correspondence, and see the fire that there is in him. 'Haughty and fiery,' according to Whitlock; nice sweet lady's man, according to good Mrs. Maxwell, in whose husband's house he lodged before his trial; a striking mixture of both features compose the old man. The year 1640, which ushered in the Scotch rebellion, and concluded with his own imprisonment in the Tower, found him as active and as ubiquitous as in any year of his life. As one of the *triumviri* with Strafford and Hamilton, which had the Scotch war committed to them, he had business and anxiety enough in that quarter. Not one fragment of his other business gives way, not one sign of remissness or flagging, not a faltering step, or a failing look appear. He is all alive, and acts with the full vigour and spirit of his whole career, till his career itself stops; till he comes to a dead wall, and is locked up in the house of the Black Rod. From the cabinet of Scotch business, proceed letters to the University of Oxford, about putting down the Westminster Supper, and a scolding letter to the Vice-Chancellor, for not 'suppressing 'taverns and ale-houses.' Mr. Bagshawe, of the Middle Temple, who gives authority to the courts in Westminster over the 'Courts Christian,' has a summary stop given to his lectures, and 'away goes Bagshawe out of town, accompanied with forty 'or fifty horse, who seemed to be of the same faction and affections.' Convocation meets in the very thick of the storm, and continues its meeting after the dissolution of Parliament; and the isolated ecclesiastical body daring to show its ecclesiastical unparliamentary existence, draws the whole jealousy of the nation upon it; and the House sits with the Middlesex trainbands to guard it from the fury of the mob. Canons pass, and a series of discussions go on. Bishop Hall's Episcopacy, written for the Scotch emergency, comes under his review, and he sug-

gests the line and ground to take. All his departments and activities go on.

Laud was not deficient in the prophetic instinct. He had known long ago which way things were going; and the cloud which he saw gathering over the English Church at Bishop Montague's trial, had never left his eye. A singular presentiment of his own fate appears even years before, in one of those strange and vague movements of his mind in the Diary; where it occurs to him that he is always coming into contact with St. John Baptist's day. 'Of no ill omen, I hope. While I was 'intent at prayer, I know not how, it came strongly into my 'mind.' The close of his course comes now ushered in with dreams, and he dreams that he sees his father, and asks his father how long he should stay; and that his father made this answer, that he should stay till he had him along with him. He comes into his study, and sees his picture 'fallen on the floor, 'and lying flat on its face.' Melancholy, and activity under it; the power of ever acting before a blank and ambiguity, of throwing himself into the process as such, and filling space, are characteristic of Laud. A man's career is an existence in itself, a solid portion cut out of the world of human mind and will: it lives apart from what results of it, and has a realm of its own, which no fate can interfere with, in all the space between its beginning and its end.

Parliament met on the 3d of November, 1640. 'A letter 'was wrote to the Archbishop, advertising that the Parliament 'of Henry VIII., which destroyed the privileges of the clergy, 'and dissolved the abbeys and religious houses, was begun on the '3d of November, and therefore that, for good luck's sake, he 'would move the king to respite the first sitting of it for a day 'or two longer.' However, it met on the unlucky day. On the 18th of December, Hollis, after a vehement debate on the Canons of the late Convocation, which were declared to be 'against 'the King's prerogative, and the fundamental laws of the realm,' impeached him in the name of the Commons of England of treason. He was committed to the charge of Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, and remained ten weeks in his house; Mrs. Maxwell charmed with him, and 'talking of him to her 'gossips.' From Maxwell's he was removed to the Tower, amidst a 'railing rabble,' who accompanied him to the very gates.

Mobs had been rife lately, and springing up at a moment's warning; they had attacked Lambeth, had torn up the seats of the High Commission Court at St. Paul's. Laud was now under the special surveillance of a mixed mob of Brownists, Anabaptists, and 'London apprentices,' who invariably accompanied him

to and from the Tower, saw him enter Westminster Hall for his day's trial, and saw him safe in the Tower gates again; and an impertinent, staring, multitudinous eye seemed always upon him: a specimen of an unwelcome, incongenial companionship, which almost reminds one of some of the poet's punishments in the infernal regions—those curious inflictions which are made expressly to fit the individuals themselves. The Danaïdæ had their buckets, and Sisyphus his large stone, and Laud his mob.

Libels and ballads against him were sung up and down the streets, with pictures of him in a cage, and 'fastened to a post by a chain.' They enlivened taverns and alehouses; and the 'drunkards made songs upon me,' he says; 'God of His mercy forgive the misguided people.'

The Tower had its own internal persecutors; and preachers in the chapel soothed his misfortunes with the special application of the text to him, '*Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord.*' One Mr. Joslyn preached, 'with a vehemence becoming Bedlam: the women and the boys stood up in the church to see how I would bear it. I humbly thank God for my patience.' Puritan ministers came to call on him and ask him 'whether he had repented;' Mr. Wells, a New England minister, boisterously demanding of him whether he had not repented of once upon a time suspending him (Mr. Wells) in particular. 'I knew him not till he told me he was suspended by me, when I was Bishop of London, and he then a minister in Essex. I told him if he were suspended it was doubtless according to law. Then upon a little further speech, I recalled the man to my remembrance, and what care I took at London then to recall him from some of his turbulent ways, but all in vain; and now he inferred, out of the good words I then gave him, that I suspended him against my conscience.'

The death of Strafford deprived him of his greatest friend—the only person who had fully sympathized and acted with him. Laud felt the blow, and knew he stood entirely alone in the world, when he was gone. Hopelessness and separation, and certainty of never coming together again, are a different thing from a friend's death, after all. Laud was perfectly unmanned by Strafford's death. They were not allowed to see one another in the Tower; but Strafford sent to the Lieutenant, the night before his execution, to ask for leave that once. It was refused. 'Then ask the Archbishop,' he said, 'to lend me his prayers this night, and give me his blessing when I go abroad to-morrow, and be at his window, that by my last farewell I may give him thanks for this, and all other his former favours. Laud replied, that he could promise the first, but could not

answer for the second; 'he feared his weakness and passion 'would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure.' He made the attempt, however, and did come up to his window the next morning, where Strafford stood waiting for him on his way to execution; but could not do more than just lift up his hands in the attitude of blessing, and fainted. The heroic character of Strafford, with all the cautions, and softeners, and bits of humour with which Laud attacks him on it in his letters, was deeply loved; and his fondness for it shows itself in his very hits and laughs at it. He gave up all hope for himself from this time, and expected his end as a matter of time, 'adding, 'that he hoped, by God's assistance, and his own innocence, that 'when he came to his own execution, which he daily longed for, 'the world would perceive that he had been more sensible of 'Lord Strafford's loss than he was of his own.' A characteristic sensitiveness makes him half find fault with himself for his emotions, and for the appearance 'of effeminacy and unbecoming 'weakness' there was in 'sinking down in that manner.'

The Great Rebellion was now set in; both sides were in arms; and Laud heard, from his confinement in the midst of the enemy's camp, the distant news of engagements in the North. Under the new sway of Parliament, he saw one rapid ending of all he had done. Parliament was in possession of headquarters in the metropolis, and was changing things fast. He saw, one by one, every piece of ecclesiastical reform displaced again, Calvinism and Presbyterianism triumphant, and the work of a life apparently come to nothing. He could only sit patiently in his prison, and hear of one act of subversion after another. The House of Commons managed the Church: Williams, in full sunshine again, went about with a train of Bishops, flattered and flattering, and the oracle of Parliament: and a committee of twelve met in his lodgings, and planned alterations in the Liturgy. Mobs shouting 'No Bishops! No Bishops!' paraded the streets. Parliament echoed the cry, and passed a bill, depriving the Bishops of their votes in the House of Lords. 'That struck proud Canterbury to the heart,' somebody said. The churches and cathedrals suffered miserable profanation from the Puritan troops. Westminster Abbey was assaulted by a London crowd, and had to be stoutly defended by the 'scholars;' and the hatred of the Church, which his administration had for years with difficulty kept under, broke loose everywhere, and made up for its past confinement.

In 1643 a motley mixture of lords, commons, and ministers, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent, sat under the name of the Westminster Assembly; and from within the Abbey walls, where they held their sitting, issued the Directory. A

bargain was struck with the Scotch Covenanters (whose assistance to stem the Royal successes in the North became necessary), through the medium of Gillespie, Henderson, and other leading ministers. The Covenanting interest got, in return for its aid, a representation in the Assembly, with a prospect of a share of the bishoprics and Church spoil; and a confederacy of Scotch and English, and a compact for the religious uniformity of both countries, were cemented with the pledge that Laud should be brought to trial.

A long, tedious, and exhausting ordeal was now to be undergone, before he could be allowed to die. He entered on it with a vigour and spirit equal to that of any period of his administration; and the mind accustomed to energy was literally unable to do anything feebly. His acuteness simulates the full power of hope: and an inherent habit of self-supporting action, and independence of expectation, bears him along. A theory of what he should do for the sake of the look to the world at large, and a sensitive fear of seeming to give way, and discredit his cause, comes in; the feeling which enters into the expression we just quoted of his after Strafford's death, which enters much into his prayers:—the nervousness of a religious mind, as if it were wrong to be weak before the enemy, and allow him a too easy triumph and exaltation,—‘lest he be too proud.’

The trial began in November, 1643, and went on to the October of the next year; and it brought the whole of a long public life, and an administration in Church and State, under review, from the proceedings in High Commission and Star-chamber, down to the most casual words which dropped from him.

The tribunal assumed a theological character, and questioned him about his language respecting the altar, the priesthood, the consecrated elements; about his alterations in churches, church ceremonies, pictures, images, crucifixes, painted windows; the books he had on his table; the pictures he had on his walls; his private conversations; expressions let fall about the Church; his hopes and fears; his theological friends; his disposal of patronage, and names whom he had given bishoprics, and deaneries, and king-chaplainships to.

One article is remarkable, which charges him with designs upon the power of the Crown, and wishing to deprive the Crown of its great prerogative of Church control. The court shows its *animus*: it has no objection to Crown prerogative, if it will only ally itself with them; the Church is what it dislikes, and what it fears. For the powers of the Crown, as of State against Church, they are ready to stand up: they will retain, with scrupulous jealousy, every prerogative of it that goes in that direction: they are loyal men then, and can talk of desire

to support the Crown, and established power, and dislike of innovation. 'He hath traitorously assumed to himself,' says Article VI., 'a papal and tyrannical power, both in ecclesiastical and temporal matters, over his Majesty's subjects in the realm of England, to the disinherison of the Crown, dishonour of his Majesty, and derogation of supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. And the said Archbishop claims the King's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as incident to his Episcopal and Archiepiscopal office in this kingdom, and doth deny the same to be derived from the Crown of England; which he hath accordingly exercised to the high contempt of his royal Majesty, and to the destruction of divers of the King's liege people in their persons and estates.' The innovation of Bishops sending out their citations in their own names, and not in the King's, is pitched upon in this view. A jealousy for Crown, as a theoretical State power, and a hatred of the practical line it had taken, put them into the hypocritical position of actually elevating Charles's royal prerogative above what he wanted it to be himself. You *shall* have power against the Church, they say: we shall not let you give it up. It is not your own, but the national power delegated to you for that very object. Use it as the nation wants you, throw yourself into the national secular animus, and you may be as great as you please. We do not object to your royalty as such; but if it is made an engine for bringing the Church down upon us, we turn republicans.

The examination then went into the very smallest matters of mere business that Laud had transacted in his public offices. A man in office is certain to do a number of things every day that displease some person or other: to please one, is to displease another: and if at any given time the doors were thrown open for all the grumblers, and the call given for all who had memories to rub them up, and recollect what grievances they had ever suffered from, or thought they owed to, him, the chance is there would be a largish muster. Goldsmiths come and complain of having been removed from their scattered residences to Lombard-street and Cheapside. Soap-boilers think they were hardly used on one or two occasions in the case of King's proclamations. The 'Tonnage and Poundage' business comes up. Ship money, 'coat and conduct money,' come up again; the monarchy was in a strait in these days to get money. You pulled my house down, says one man; you refused me compensation, says another; you made me pay taxes, and you made me pay tithes, are urged from two other quarters; you called me Sirrah, once, says a gentleman. Laud explains. The house belonged to St. Paul's Chapter, and was pulled down in the improvements there. The compensation was an absurd claim.

The tithes were the lawful property of the Church; the taxes of the king. With respect to the 'Sirrah,' he really cannot remember either that he did or did not call Mr. Vassal, 'Sirrah;' he only knows that his constant habit is to call gentlemen of Mr. Vassal's dignity, 'Sir.'

It is marvellous into what pettiness of detail the trial goes. Everything is fished up from the bottom, and collected from every corner; and everything is treason; and Laud was put into the humiliating position of having to stand up, and forensically guard every little thing he had ever done—to say, this is not judicial evidence, as a legal court you cannot listen to such stories as these; only bring them to the test of legal evidence, and they disappear. He did this with wonderful acuteness. The minute particles vanished one after another as they encountered the touchstone, and left a legally clear air. 'And what if they are true?' went side-by-side with this process. 'What do they come to? What am I charged with? Be it so, that I was very angry with one Samuel Sherman, of Dedham, in Essex: that I should say Dedham was a maritime town; and that when the sum demanded of him was named, I should say, "a proper sum." Here is no proof but Sherman, and he in his own cause, and his censure was laid upon him by the Council table, and not by me. But let it be ever so true,—here is no treason, but against Dedham, or Sherman, that I can discover.'

The examination went deeper still. Every corner of Lambeth was searched for papers—his library seized and examined; and Prynne, with a parliamentary warrant in his hand, prowled about the archiepiscopal rooms. Laud was alone all the while, and in the position of a man undergoing a painful operation: a diary is part of a man's self: his was in Prynne's hands, undergoing keen inspections, with marginal comments and interpretations, and interpolations in the text, at will, with the view of a good forensic exhibition. He did not know what unpleasant disclosure of his most private thoughts might be every moment made. It was just the very species of pain—that feeling of 'shame,' which he was so singularly alive to. Prynne pursued him to the Tower, to his prison, to his bedroom. Prynne, with a lighted candle in his hand, appeared in the dead of the night in his bedroom, when he was in bed; and Laud awoke, and saw him picking his pockets of papers. He carried off his book of devotions away with him: Laud in vain telling him that there was nothing for Parliament to see there, but only the addresses of his soul to God. He was laid bare, and all brought into the full vulgar light of a civil court. 'My being in this place,' is his final address to the Court, 'recalls to my memory that which

‘ I long since read in Seneca—to have to defend oneself in a court, even if one is acquitted, is a torment,—it is not a grief only, it is no less than a torment:—My Lords, it is no less than a torment for me to appear in this place.’

‘ Wit and eloquence,’—we are quoting Prynne’s admission,—‘ the good orator, the subtle disputant,’—a ‘ full, gallant, and pithy defence, which spake as much as it was possible for the wit of man to invent,’ showed Laud’s resources under this mental pain. Bit by bit the whole mass of evidence against him crumbled away, and left the Court powerless in point of law. Strafford’s precedent had been nullified by a special insulating act, confining it to the sole and single case of Strafford himself. A second single precedent, and one positively for the last time, had now to be instituted: and a new special bill of attainder was passed for Laud.

‘ On the 6th of January,* six Peers, and it was strange to find so many in the English peerage, to wit, Philip Earl of Pembroke, Henry Earl of Kent, William Earl of Salisbury, Oliver Earl of Bolingbroke, Dudley Lord North, and William Lord Gray of Wark, all of them Presbyterians, condemned the Archbishop to be *hung* on the 10th of January next. On the same day with this unrighteous sentence, Parliament abolished the Book of Common Prayer.

‘ The manner of his death troubled the good Archbishop not a little; and with a deeply Christian magnanimity and largeness of heart, whatever some poor, unworthy minds have thought or said about it, he was not above petitioning his enemies, that, considering he was a bishop in the Church, he might die by beheading rather than by the gibbet. Which request the Commons at first violently refused, but did afterwards assent unto.

‘ The passing of the ordinance being signified to him by the then lieutenant of the Tower, he heard it with so even and so smooth a temper, as shewed he neither was ashamed to live, nor afraid to die. The time between the sentence and execution he spent in prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, his chaplain Dr. Sterne, who afterwards sat in the chair of York, to attend upon him. His chaplains, Drs. Heywood and Martin, he much wished might be with him. But it seems it was too much for him to ask. So instead, two violent Presbyterians, Marshall and Palmer, were ordered by Parliament to give him religious consolations: which consolations his grace quietly declined. Indeed, little preparation was needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected.

* We quote the account at the end of the Autobiography.

‘ For so well was he studied in the art of dying, especially in the
 ‘ last and strictest part of his imprisonment, that by continual
 ‘ fastings, watchings, prayers, and such like acts of Christian
 ‘ humiliation, his flesh was rarefied into spirit, and the whole
 ‘ man fitted for eternal glories.

‘ On the evening of the 9th, Sheriff Chambers, of London,
 ‘ brought the warrant for his execution. In preparation to
 ‘ so sad a work, he betook himself to his own, and desired also
 ‘ the prayers of others, and particularly of Dr. Holdsworth,
 ‘ fellow-prisoner in that place for a year and a half; though
 ‘ all that time there had not been the least converse betwixt
 ‘ them. This evening before his passover, the night before the
 ‘ dismal combat betwixt him and death, after he had refreshed
 ‘ his spirits with a moderate supper, he betook himself unto his
 ‘ rest, and slept very soundly till the time came, in which his
 ‘ servants were appointed to attend his rising. A most assured
 ‘ sign of a soul prepared.

‘ The 10th of January came, on which the Archbishop com-
 ‘ pleted his life of seventy-one years, thirteen weeks, and four
 ‘ days. His death was the more remarkable, in falling on St.
 ‘ William’s day, as if it did design him to an equal place in the
 ‘ English calendar, with that which William, Archbishop of
 ‘ Bourges, had obtained in the French: who (being as great a
 ‘ zealot in his time against the spreading and increase of the
 ‘ Albigenses, as Laud was thought to be against those of the
 ‘ Puritan faction, and the Scottish Covenanters), hath ever since
 ‘ been honoured as a Saint and Confessor in the Gallican Church.

‘ In the morning he was early at his prayers; at which he
 ‘ continued till Pennington, Lieutenant of the Tower, and other
 ‘ public officers, came to conduct him to the scaffold; which he
 ‘ ascended with so brave a courage, such a cheerful countenance,
 ‘ as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph, than be made
 ‘ a sacrifice; and came not there to die, but to be translated.
 ‘ And though some rude and uncivil people reviled him, as he
 ‘ passed along, with opprobrious language, as loth to let him go
 ‘ to the grave in peace, yet it never discomposed his thoughts,
 ‘ nor disturbed his patience. For he had profited so well in
 ‘ the school of Christ, that, “when he was reviled, he reviled not
 ‘ again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed
 ‘ his cause to Him that judgeth righteously.”

‘ And, as he did not fear the frowns, so neither did he covet
 ‘ the applause of the people; and therefore rather chose to read
 ‘ what he had to speak, than to affect the ostentation either of
 ‘ memory or wit in that dreadful agony: whether with greater
 ‘ magnanimity than prudence can hardly be said. And here
 ‘ it followeth from the copy, presented very solemnly by

‘ Dr. Sterne to his sorrowing master, the good King Charles, at
 ‘ Oxford.

‘ *The Archbishop’s Speech upon the Scaffold.*

‘ Good People,

‘ This is an uncomfortable time to preach; yet I shall begin
 ‘ with a text of Scripture, Hebrews xii. 2. “Let us run with
 ‘ patience the race which is set before us: looking unto Jesus,
 ‘ the Author and Finisher of our faith, Who, for the joy that
 ‘ was set before Him, endured the Cross, despising the shame,
 ‘ and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.”

‘ I have been long in my race; and how I have looked unto
 ‘ Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my faith, He best knows.
 ‘ I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the
 ‘ Cross, a death of shame. But the shame must be despised,
 ‘ or no coming to the right hand of God. Jesus despised the
 ‘ shame for me, and God forbid that I should not despise the
 ‘ shame for Him.

‘ I am going apace, as you see, towards the Red sea, and my
 ‘ feet are upon the very brink of it: an argument, I hope, that
 ‘ God is bringing me into the Land of Promise; for that was
 ‘ the way through which He led His people.

‘ But before they came to it, He instituted a passover for
 ‘ them. A lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sour herbs.
 ‘ I shall obey, and labour to digest the sour herbs, as well as the
 ‘ lamb. And I shall remember it is the Lord’s passover. I
 ‘ shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hands that
 ‘ gathered them; but look up only to Him who instituted that,
 ‘ and governs these: for men can have no more power over me
 ‘ than what is given them from above.

‘ I am not in love with this passage through the Red sea, for
 ‘ I have the weakness and infirmity of flesh and blood plentifully
 ‘ in me. And I have prayed with my Saviour, *Ut transiret*
 ‘ *calix iste*, that this cup of red wine might pass from me. But
 ‘ if not, God’s will, not mine, be done. And I shall most
 ‘ willingly drink of this cup as deep as He pleases, and enter
 ‘ into this sea, yea, and pass through it, in the way that He
 ‘ shall lead me.

‘ And as for this people, they are at this day miserably mis-
 ‘ led: God of His mercy open their eyes, that they may see the
 ‘ right way. For at this day the blind lead the blind; and if
 ‘ they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch.

‘ And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the
 ‘ first man, that ever died by an Ordinance in Parliament, yet
 ‘ some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by
 ‘ this means: for Elphegus was hurried away and lost his head

' by the Danes; Simon Sudbury in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before these, St. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples great and good; and they teach me patience. For I hope my cause in heaven will look of another dye, than the colour that is put upon it here.

' And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several generations; but also that my charge, as foul as it is made, looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul; for he was accused for the law and the temple, *i. e.* religion; and like that of St. Stephen, for breaking the ordinances which Moses gave, *i. e.* law and religion, the holy place and the law.

' But you will say, Do I then compare myself with the integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No: far be that from me. I only raise a comfort to myself, that these great saints and servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now.'

And after disclaiming ever having had an intention of introducing arbitrary power into the constitution, or the Papacy into the Church, and declaring that he had belonged, in heart and soul, always to the Church of England, and never looked beyond her, and simply aimed at her improvement and restoration, 'I do therefore,' he ends, 'here, in the presence of God and His holy angels, take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion either of law or religion. And I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocence in this, and from all treasons whatsoever.'

' But I have done. I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man. And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me.'

' O eternal God and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies. Look upon me, but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ, not till Thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ; that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since Thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I most humbly beseech Thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for Thine honour, the King's happiness, and this Church's preservation. And my zeal to these (far from arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin (human frailty excepted, and all incidents thereto) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I come now to suffer; I say, in this particular of treason. But other-

' wise, my sins are many and great; Lord, pardon them all, and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me. And when Thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in Thine own eyes. Amen.'

After saying the Lord's prayer, he ' rose, and gave his papers to Dr. Stern, his chaplain, who went with him to his Martyrdom, saying, " Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your fellow-chaplains, that they may see how I went out of the world; and God's blessing and mercy be upon you and them." Then turning to a person named Hinde, whom he perceived busy writing the words of his address, he said, " Friend, I beseech you hear me. I cannot say I have spoken every word as it is in my paper, but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well as I could, but I beseech you, let me have no wrong done me:" intimating that he ought not to publish an imperfect copy. " Sir," replied Hinde, " you shall not. If I do so, let it fall upon my own head. I pray God have mercy upon your soul." " I thank you," he answered; " I did not speak with any jealousy as if you would do so, but only, as a poor man going out of the world, it is not possible for me to keep to the words of my paper, and a phrase might do me wrong."

An intense, indescribable weariness of life, appears in all Laud's last days, and deepens as the end approaches. He is absorbed in it. A long-sustained period of hopeless mental exertion, left him fixed and riveted on the one idea of an end, as if he were under some dominant constraining emotion.

' He now applied himself to the fatal block, as to the haven of his rest. But finding the way full of people, who had placed themselves upon the theatre to behold the tragedy, he said, " I thought there would have been an empty scaffold, that I might have had room to die. I beseech you, let me have an end of this misery, for I have endured it long." Hereupon room was made for him to die. While he was preparing himself for the axe, he said, " I will put off my doublet, and God's will be done. I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to send me out, than I am willing to be gone."

' But there were broad chinks between the boards of the scaffold: and he saw that some people were got under the very place where the block was seated. So he desired either that the people might be removed, or dust brought to fill up the crevices, lest, said he, " my innocent blood should fall upon the heads of the people."

' The holy Martyr was now ready for death, and very calmly waiting for his crown. It was like a scene out of primitive

‘times. His face was fresh and ruddy, and of a cheerful countenance. But there stood, to look on and rail, one Sir John Clotworthy, an Irishman, and follower of the Earl of Warwick. He was a violent and wrong-headed man, an enthusiast, and very furious as a demagogue. Being irritated that the revilings of the people moved not the strong quiet of the holy Martyr, or sharpened him into any show of passion, “he would needs put in and try what he could do with his sponge and vinegar.” So he propounded questions to him, not as if to learn, but rudely and out of ill-nature, and to expose him to his associates. “What,” asked he, “is the comfortablest saying, which a dying man would have in his mouth?” To which the holy Martyr with very much meekness answered, “*Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.*” “That is a good desire,” said the other, “but there must be a foundation for that divine assurance.” “No man can express it,” replied the Martyr, “it is to be found within.” The busy man still pursued him, and said, “It is founded upon a word, nevertheless, and that word should be known.” “That word,” said the Martyr, “is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that alone.” But he saw that this was but an indecent interruption, and that there would be no end to the trouble, and so he turned away from him to the executioner, as the gentler and discreeter person: and, putting some money into his hand, without the least distemper or change of countenance, he said, “Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thine office upon me in mercy.” Then did he go upon his knees; and the executioner said that he should give a sign for the blow to come; to which he answered, “I will, but first let me fit myself.”

He then knelt down for his last open prayer—short, but so expressive of his state of mind. A world of enemies had been long wishing him away; self-defence had been hitherto a duty; but now that they had fairly their own way, and got their ends, he was satisfied, ready to relieve them of his presence. He did not want to stay. Life is weariness; death is rest.

“Lord, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass through the shadow of death, before I can come to see Thee. But it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but Thou by Thy merits and passion hast broken through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them for Jesus Christ His sake, if it be Thy will.”

‘Then he bowed his head upon the block, “down, as upon a bed,” and prayed silently awhile. No man heard what it was

'he prayed in that last prayer. After that he said out loud, "Lord, receive my soul;" which was the sign to the executioner; and at one blow he was beheaded.'

Laud's is an instance of a great career founded upon a dream; a great practical, powerful, political mind, that pursued a visionary object. The high feudal idea of Church greatness, which led him through his course, was an impracticable, unreal one, in the great revolution of society which had taken place. When the Church has once lost her hold upon the mass, and fallen from her power, she must be restored from below and not from above. She has to begin from the bottom again, and must be raised by the slow advance and gradual inoculation of the mass. She must rise again by a popular movement, and by influences and efforts upon the open area and level. Laud's movement was not a popular one; and we know not whether it could have been made so. The age was set one way, and he took perhaps the only engine that there was for him. But to erect a high mediæval prelacy and priestly power upon such a puritanized basis as the Church then presented, was, in strict *ordo naturæ*, beginning at the wrong end. We are criticising the movement, and not the man. The man is dependent on his age, and must take what weapon comes to hand. It was better doing something than nothing; using an awkward and inaccurate instrument than none at all. Great men upon their historical stage—it is not, we hope, a morbid sentiment to utter—are objects of compassion. The worldly machinery and the state of things that they are in, force them upon incongruities, and allow them only some one crooked weapon, some one angular posture, some one effective elbow thrust. Their own minds even become appropriated and naturalized by the sphere they work in, and see that one mode of acting only and no other. It remains for some clearer day to determine what minds really are in themselves, and what is the genuine intrinsic man apart from hodiernal influences and moulding. Such a question would only take us wandering now into the shadowy region of moral metaphysics.

Let us not be misunderstood, however. Laud's career was not unpractical, because its aim was visionary; not ineffective, because it did not hit its own favourite mark. It had most important practical effects upon the English Church. The mediæval philosophy made real physical discoveries in its dreams, and the searcher after the philosopher's stone was a real scientific man and chemist through that ideal medium. Laud's immediate acts and aims were most practical; and a great practical rise in the English Church was the effect of his career. He stopped her just in time, as she was rapidly going down hill,

and he saved all the Catholicism which the reign of Genevan influence had left her. There is no mistaking the tendencies of that period. That we have our Prayer-book, our altar, even our Episcopacy itself, we may, humanly speaking, thank Laud. The holy table in all our churches, altarwise at the east end, is a visible memorial of Laud which none can escape. It was not so before his time: it is not necessarily so by the actual rubric of our Church at this moment. That our Articles have not a Genevan sense tied to them, and are not an intolerable burden to the Church, is owing to Laud. He rescued them from the fast tightening Calvinistic grasp, and left them, by his prefixed 'Declaration,' open. Laud saved the English Church. That any one of Catholic predilections can belong to the English Church, is owing, so far as we can see, to Laud. He saw the good element that was in her, elicited, fostered, and nurtured it; brought the incipient Church school to size and shape, and left it spreading over the Church, and setting the standard. Let us be historically just. Let the dead have their due. Let us acknowledge facts; and allow their true stamp and authorship to remain upon them. The English Church, in her Catholic aspect, is a memorial of Laud.

There is a reproach, however, in the shape of praise, from which we are anxious to rescue him—the praise of a class who know next to nothing about him, and simply regard him as the patron of Church opulence and comfort, of easy posts of dignity, and the Establishment system. It is too obvious a thing to say, that this class would very soon have found him a disagreeable master. A small experience of the actual man would have modified their commendation. The dead cannot help themselves here: and persons who have not one single sympathy with Laud's self-devotion, deep priestly feeling, love of Church doctrine or discipline, and who, if they had lived in that day, would not have stirred a finger to save the Church from sinking into a presbyterian establishment, can now safely eulogize him and smoothly thank him for the official powers which they enjoy from him, and which they employ against that very Catholic spirit in the Church which they were originally instituted to defend. However, we observe this sort of praise dying away, as parties get to understand themselves and each other better; and should anything which we have said tend at all to hasten its departure, we shall feel it no subject of regret.

NOTICES.

The Chimes. A Goblin Story of some Bells that rang an Old Year out and a New Year in. By CHARLES DICKENS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1845.

IN a sense it seems superfluous to criticize what everybody reads, because all readers claim to themselves, by virtue of their profession, to be adequate critics of what they read. Still, although from what we have to say of Mr. Dickens's Christmas story, few, perhaps, will read, or none, it may be, neglect it, we feel bound to give an opinion, simply because of this writer's unexampled popularity. What so many read, must have its office of good or of evil. It is a strange privilege, or trial, be it only for a single hour, to have any—still more awful to have much—influence on men's souls. To religious minds, therefore, the popular literature of the day is a very grave subject: its claims we are bound to recognise.

With the avowed object of the present story we cannot but sympathize: viz. the claims of the poor on the merciful sympathies of their fellows. To have always held this moral purpose is one, perhaps the great secret, of this writer's success. In "The Chimes," we find the inborn claims of the poor man; his beautiful side; his surprising cheerfulness under sorrows, and, what shows Dickens's keen observation of nature, the real cause of his apparent sulkiness and unimpressibility, well sketched off. It is a true lesson, that often the poor man most wants, and most desires, to be let alone. We think "Boz" decidedly unfair to some with whom we own affinities, if he imagines that *their* earnestness for the poor is confined to the cricket-playing; but bating this, we scorn the growing picturesque view of the poor: we are beginning to treat them as we do torn thatch, ruined groves, and blasted trees, as "nice bits" in a landscape, as telling contrasts, as subjects for sickly sentimentalities. How far district-visiting in carriages (we have seen it ourselves), maypole-dancing during a lull in the opera season, and soup-kitchens when the frost stops the hunting, may have given *some* occasion to Mr. Dickens's most bitter sarcasms, we are not called upon to say: we all know that there is something in it. Anyhow, nothing is more improper than the constant pestering and badgering of the poor, which is getting into vogue—the constant "See what a poor wretch you are, and see what a good, kind gentleman, or lady, I am." For showing up this *sham* (by-the-bye, Boz has taken to Carlyle, though he does not own it), we thank "The Chimes." And when we can get any book with a

circulation of twenty thousand, which will, as the present does, cut clean through the detestable school of economists, Malthus, and the "coarser kind of food" gentry, the preventive-check heathen, and the "natural effluxes" people, we will welcome it as heartily as we do the present. We hardly know whether it was worth Dickens's purpose to show up an individual, the most contemptible of his most contemptible class, such as Sir Peter Laurie, the worthy who "puts down" everything—Puseyism and poverty, because they touch his pocket,—suicide and sorrows, because they disturb the city's propriety and peace. But let this pass: the work is done, and never mind who does it. Alderman Cute is settled, once and for ever.

And with all this, shall we say that we find a great blank somewhere? It is not that "The Chimes" is not a religious story; we shall be, perhaps, not altogether misunderstood, if we say we should have been sorry if it had been: but it is because it is,—and the remark holds with the whole *Pickwick* school,—a *moral* story, ostensibly, avowedly, ambitiously *moral*, and nothing more. Not a scrap or spark of religion in it: nothing more than morals: the realm of fact, not of grace; the kingdom of the individual will, not of the Spirit and strength of God. For religious stories we have the most sovereign contempt; but such loathing is, we trust, quite compatible with affection, sole affection, for that spirit in fiction which veils the only realities of the soul. And here is the chief defect of Dickens: he seems to be always on the very point of getting hold of the truth—of the right thing—and yet as invariably he misses it, and clutches the shadow,—a very good counterfeit always, but still only the semblance of that which constantly eludes him. He wants, because he knows that the soul wants, unseen influences and mysterious powers, and he embodies a mixed mockery of German diablerie, and fairies, and Socinianism, because, even while he was not called upon to picture it, he has never realized the Catholic doctrine of the angels; and it is quite wonderful, though significant, how this machinery—to speak according to the card—would have helped him. He pictures, and most touchingly, a sweet woman in deep poverty, struggling against every temptation and misery; and she is strong in the strength of *duty*, but, as it seems, without a thought of the cross of Christ. He draws a good, cheerful, plodding, warm-hearted son of privation, whose best and highest hope of consolation does not range higher than a credulity in, and a half-crazed affection for—certain chimes. And this is the great failure of the present book: it is just this, that such people could not, as a fact, apart from right, have been what Dickens draws them, without some better and truer ground-work.

As a *literary* work we cannot speak highly of "The Chimes;" the clumsy and threadbare trick of a dream is managed with more than its ordinary *maladroitness*. The pathetic passages are among the most turgid, (witness p. 92,) and absurd which this very clever writer has perpetrated; and remembering his many and various grotesque attempts at fine writing, this is saying not a little. But, above all this, there is scarcely a striking feature which we have not fallen in with before:—the influence of the chimes, and the leading idea of the story, is taken from Schiller's Song of the Bell; the mysterious affection and attraction between the Bells and Toby Veck may be traced to Quasimodo, in Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame de Paris;" a good deal of the diction is a palpable borrowing from Carlyle, and, which it most resembles, the higher portions of Punch; the false, yet catching, attempt to combine personal degradation and sin with high moral refinement,—we allude to the fate of Lilian,—from the wicked "Mysteries of Paris;" the goblin spirits of the greater bells from Reztisch; and the multitudinous, swarming, trooping mass of sprites from sources, Irish, German, and others, which will be at once apparent. Boz repeats himself in Will Fern: we have seen it somewhere, but we cannot recall where, in his own works.

Neither can we speak highly of the illustrations; such a monstrous *mélange* of kicking, sprawling, nudities, we never witnessed as Maclise's frontispiece. This artist can paint, but he cannot draw. It caricatures depth, and mysticism, and allusion, whereas it is simply meaningless; indeed it could not well, as an illustration of the tale, be otherwise. Dickens, in the Bell Spirits, seems to have got hold of a thought which proved too high and spiritual for him; he has broken down under it. The world of spirits is with Mr. Dickens—we ask his pardon—very much indeed of the cast which we used to witness in the last scene of a pantomime: the tin-foil, wires, and tinsel, are too palpable a vast deal; and to talk nonsense is not the language of the spiritual world.

The best part of the book is its lighter portion, and especially the character of Toby Veck; quite a projection, and a single, well-defined image this, though Pickwick and Mrs. Gamp are infinitely better. And Mr. Filer, Alderman Cute, and Sir Joseph Bowley, we recommend heartily. Here is a portrait which the shallowest newspaper reader must recognise:—

"Everybody knew Alderman Cute was a justice.

"'You are going to be married, you say,' pursued the Alderman. 'Very unbecoming and indelicate in one of your sex. But now mind, that after you are married, you'll quarrel with your husband, and come to be a distressed wife. You may think not: but you will, because I tell you so. Now I give you fair warning, that I have made up my mind to put distressed wives down. So don't be brought before me. You'll have children—

boys. These boys will grow up bad, of course, and run wild in the streets without shoes or stockings. Mind, my young friend ! I'll convict 'em summarily, every one, for I am determined to put boys without shoes and stockings down. Perhaps your husband will die young (most likely) and leave you with a baby. Then you'll be turned out of doors, and wander up and down the streets. Now don't wander near me, my dear, for I am resolved to put all wandering mothers down. All young mothers, of all sorts and kinds, it's my determination to put down. Don't think to plead illness with me ; or babies, as an excuse with me : for all sick persons and young children (I hope you know the Church service, but I'm afraid not) I am determined to put down. And if you attempt, desperately and ungratefully and impiously and fraudulently attempt to drown yourself or hang yourself, I'll have no pity on you, for I have made up my mind to put all suicide down. If there is one thing,' said the Alderman, with his self-satisfied smile, 'on which I can be said to have made up my mind more than on another, it is to put suicide down. So don't try it on. That's the phrase, isn't it ? Ha ! ha ! now we understand each other.'—Pp. 43, 44.

We inquire—and it is quite in the *Rigby* spirit which missed the Coroner's Inquest on *Ellen Middleton*—how it was that the young couple who, on New Year's Eve, agreed to be married, and were married, on New Year's Day, contrived to dispense with the three weeks' publication of banns ?

Dialogus de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ et de regimine ecclesiastico.
Auctore C. F. WEBER. Nerolinge: Sumptibus C. H. BECK.
1843.

As an illustration of the way in which the proposed Evangelical Pruss-Anglican Episcopate is viewed in Germany, the amusing pamphlet which we have named will not be out of place. We notice it in this place because it seems hardly to unite with the gravity of a previous article on this subject ; and yet as popular ballads have not been without their influence on the fortunes of empires, so these small squibs are other than unimportant signs of the tempers even of religious bodies.

Mr. Weber, of Nordlingen, casts his wit, which is of the ponderous post-waggon order, into the form of a dialogue, after the pattern of Erasmus, or our neglected friend Cordery. The interlocutors are "Germanicus" and "Britannicus." The Teuton courteously salutes his friend as "Collegam meum Britannicum, ecclesiæ Frondensis vicarium." The Clergy List gives no hint of this leafy vicarage, so we are left to conjecture the sylvan bowers of our travelling brother: his habitat cannot be more shady than his arguments. Sundry witticisms are bandied in a rollicking style: the "Frondensis vicarius" is fresh from London,—London

"famosissimus, ne dicam et fumosissimus:" facetious allusions are made to Green's balloon, rail-roads, steam-boats, the Chinese war, a mission to the Æthiopians, Mars, Vulcan, and Minerva; and we are bound to confess that the exordium has a pleasant mixture of the Times newspaper and the *Propria quæ maribus*.

The ecclesiastical news-bag is then opened: "Prick up your ears," says Britannicus:—

"Arrige aures: Londinum mox erit arx et metropolis totius corporis NOSTRI Evangelici!"—P. 5.

And then he announces the Jerusalem Bishopric. Germanicus receives this with the characteristic national phlegm, while he wickedly chronicles the *rescova* and *rescovini*:—

"Equidem Alexandrum *quendam*, ex Judæorum secta proselytum, cum uxore ac liberis Hierosolyma missum, ibique conatum esse, Jacobi sedem apostolicam restituere,—fama percepi."—*Ibid*.

The "conditions" of union Germanicus obstinately deems not—

"Societas, sed editio novæ ecclesiæ est nominanda."—P. 6.

After a tedious discussion on unity, visible and mystical, Germanicus smells a rat:—

"Heus, amice optime, num te quoque Britannica ista Puseyistarum factio levitatis suæ viro infecit et in casses suos pellexit," &c.—P. 7.

Britannicus pours out a volley in the shape of a maxim:—

"Equidem ecclesiam sine libertate præfero libertati sine ecclesiâ,"

which gives occasion to a sly hit at Chevalier Bunsen:—

"G. Sententiam conciliarii *cujusdam*, qui regi nostro est ex intimis, secutus esse videris."—P. 8.

The pair of friends then get on the royal supremacy—we beg to disclaim the "Puseyism" of our dramatic representative—and in this discussion the German has decidedly the best of it:—

"G. Gratias agamus Deo, quod tale beneficium a nobis avertit."—P. 10.

"Mittamus hæc et transeamus," to the question whether the German Protestant Churches shall not unite with the Anglican. G. "How does the Church of England look?" B. "Oh beautiful."

"G. Sunt, qui dicant, eam Papismum aliquantulum olere.

"B. Parum refert; res ipsa spectanda est. Mibi ex quadringentis octoginta tribus ædibus sacris Londini paucas tantum cathedrales, Sancti Pauli et occidentalem, quam vocant Westminster, intueri licebat; at quantum ibi splendoris, quanta majestas! Quas si spectaveris tapetibus pretiosis stratas, picturis et monumentis pulcherrimis ornatas, hieme

suaviter calefactas, in *auditorium* commoditatem mollibus sellis instructas, ingentibus candelabris lumine artificioso, quod vocant *gas-light* illuminatas!"—P. 13.

We say nothing of the romance about tapestry and pictures; but even Sir Cloudesley Shovel, stoves, cushions, and Bude-lights, fail to impress the imperturbable Prussian, who replies, with a grim pleasantry which is too good to be lost,—

"Utinam ne luce suâ artificiosâ lumen æternum præcludant, teretibusque illis sedibus *auditores* obdormiant!"—*Ibid.*

After sundry hints about formalism, written sermons, "*crambe recocta*," thin congregations, &c., Britannicus waxes eloquent and dignified on episcopal authority, in a passage which we pledge our editorial reputation to have extracted literally:—

"*B. Utinam ejusmodi obsequium et necessitas protestantibus Germanicis injungi posset! Sed ad hæc efficienda clerus noster (!) omni caret potestate et jurisdictione, qua fruuntur clerici episcopales; hi laterum instar murum inseparabilem adversus perniciem irrumpentem formant, et sibi ipsis acclamant: Britons, be bricks; i.e. Britanni, lateres estote!*"—P. 16.

This beats the celebrated undergraduate translation of the Ethics, *τετράγωνος ἀνὲν ψόγου*, "a regular brick and no mistake," by a long chalk. The riches of the Anglican Church are illustrated by the following inconvenient anecdote:—

"*Paucis abhinc annis tres mortui sunt episcopi, qui DCC millia librarum hæredibus suis reliquerunt et nuperrime (!) decessit episcopus Walliensis, inter egenos et pauperes habitus, qui C millia librarum ovibus suis emunxerat.*"—P. 17.

Apart, however, from this fun, there is some important matter for thought in what follows:—

"*B. Cum autem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ xxxix articuli confessioni nostræ Augustanæ omnino sint conformes, nullum equidem unionis impedimentum video.*

"*G. Cave, carissime, ne vento loquaris, nebulamque pro Junone amplectaris; prius enim mula peperit, quam ecclesiæ protestantes unius fidei vinculo inter se coarctentur. Publica illa fidei confessio, quæ ad componenda religionis dissidia jubente Carolo V. imperatore festinanter conscripta et ab ducibus Germanæ protestantibus exhibita est, nunquam et neutiquam reconciliationem partium inter se ipsas maxime dissidentium efficiet.*"—P. 19.

After a dropping fire on the blessings of unity, Germanicus replies:—

"*Sane, si societas atque fœdus non conjunctum est cum christianæ libertatis et veritatis jacturâ: cum autem ex relatione tuâ appareat, neque ritum, neque disciplinæ, neque doctrinæ ratione quidquam*

melioris notæ ex Anglicanâ ecclesiâ in Germanicas confœderatione illâ introduci, SOLITARIAM NOSTRAM CONDITIONEM RETINENDAM esse censeo."—P. 21.

A conclusion to which we sorrowfully, yet profitably, assent.

[*Note*.—Perhaps this is a place not altogether unsuitable to say something of our relations towards the King of Prussia. In a former article much has been said in vindication of his right-mindedness in the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric; but we would add a word, to prevent a possible misconception which has been suggested. Every step which the King has taken has been in confidence of the good faith of the English Church; a confidence which has been grievously misplaced. To obtain the Episcopate was no unworthy object for a Christian king; our ecclesiastical and canonical relations he could only understand upon our own interpretation of them; but when he had devoted his money to one purpose, and we have applied it to another, who has most reason to complain? The King of Prussia applied to the Church of England, through two of its principal representatives; his share of the Bishopric endowment has been handed over to the Bethnal-green Society; and, if the King of Prussia is thus committed to the acts of a body, whose faith is as unsound as its responsibility is questionable—who is most to blame? One of Mr. Palmer's (of Magdalene) dedications will explain our feeling: "To His Majesty King Frederick William, &c. who has done us no wrong, but, on the contrary, deserves the respect and esteem of all members of our Church, for the zeal which he has shown, according to his knowledge, for the spread of Christianity, and for the healing of those divisions which are a disgrace to the Christian name, &c."]

Mr. Turner's "Class Singing Book" (Parker, Strand), a second part of which has now appeared, we intended to have noticed in our last number. This gentleman, as some of our readers may be aware, had been pursuing a steady course of usefulness in the musical department of education long before the Hullah meteor crossed his path; and were we prophets, we should predict—but we shall content ourselves for the present with a hearty recommendation of his publications as by no means superseded or thrown in the shade by any others which have appeared.

We are glad to see a volume of Sermons from Mr. Bowdler (Sharp), for Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany.

"An Apology for the Greek Church," by Edward Masson, (edited by J. S. Howson, M.A.) (Hatchard), takes a more liberal tone to the Greek Church than most Protestant writers do: it does not think, *e.g.* that bowing before pictures is *ipso facto* idolatry. It sees the doctrine of justification by faith in the Greek creed. It objects to proselytizing from it.

"Incidents of the Apostolic Age in Britain." (Pickering.) The writer does not master that twilight of retiring heathenism, and dawning Christianity, and the entrance of new ideas into the savage mind, which characterises such an age as he takes up. The story wants interest, and has an antiquarian tone about it.

"Lays concerning the Early Church," by John Fuller Russell, B.C.L. (Burns.) A new field for sacred poetry. Mr. Russell's are decidedly pleasing verses. Has not the title, "Lays," rather a fabulous association about it, which Mr. Russell would be the last to wish to convey?

Mr. Gleig's "Sermons for the Seasons of Advent, Christmas, and the Epiphany" (Nickisson), are written with his accustomed ease and flow.

"An Exhortation addressed to the Church of St. George's, Ramsgate, in behalf of the National Schools," by an English Priest; is to be recommended.

"Morning and Evening Exercises for Beginners" (Burns) supplies, in a practical shape at least, one step towards advancement in the religious life; actual forms for self-examination, and a sketch of the several acts of devotion. If recent events have had none other effect, the turn which they have given to the cultivation of the inner walk will be an unspeakable good.

"Shepperton Manor," a Tale of the Times of Bishop Andrewes, by the Rev. J. M. Neale, B.A. (Cleaver.) "Shepperton Manor" contains a good deal of information upon the theology of the English Church. The story, we need not say, is only a web on which he hangs it. We rather question the plan, simply as a matter of effect, of making all the *dramatis personæ*, young ladies included, talk in the style of our old law and divinity books. Mr. Neale aims too uniformly at the conversational style of two centuries back. The reader would readily have pardoned a chronological anticipation, for the greater naturalness and flow which our modern style would, of course, have to him. Scott varies his conversational style according to his characters; and when he wants to produce either a grotesque or picturesque effect, uses the antiquated one; in other cases he makes his characters talk as we do. Mr. Neale hits off Bishop Andrewes's style very cleverly; but the imitation hardly adds to the dignity of the representation. Nor do we think it follows at all, that, because Bishop Andrewes preached in a particular style, that therefore he talked in the same style. He should hardly have been made to quote the Vulgate so much to all persons— young ladies included. Young ladies in those days certainly knew Latin more than they do now; but the effect on the modern ear is grotesque. Mr. Neale will excuse these minor criticisms, which touch only the surface

of his book. We need not say that there is much talent in this and every book of Mr. Neale's. We are always glad to see his name, and feel sure that his tone and spirit must do good.

Mr. Pindar's "Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer" (Duncan) will be read with interest.

"Poems by the Rev. Richard Tomlins, M.A.," have not much to recommend them, except their harmless and unobjectionable tone.

Mr. (Charles) Wordsworth's "Catechetical Questions," (Rivingtons,) are a very accurate and full preparation for Confirmation. There is the spirit of old divinity and ecclesiastical devotion in their exactness and detail.

We rank in parallel columns, though addressed to different classes, the complete volumes of the "Churchman's Companion," by Mr. Arnold, (Rivingtons), and the "Magazine for the Young," (Burns). Both are equally to be recommended.

A new edition of "Middleton's Free Enquiry," (Boone), with a frontispiece, the Oxford "Martyrs' Memorial," is certainly a sign of the times. This edition, of course, intended as an answer to the "Lives of the Saints," aims at extensive circulation, and puts on its title-page "price 1s. or 9s. per dozen!" With respect to Middleton himself, it is not necessary to say more than that he was a simple advocate of unbelief. We were hardly prepared to see so open an alliance with him as we do here; to have it proclaimed that the theology of Conyers Middleton was the theology of the Reformation. There is a painful satisfaction, however, in seeing parties developing; the way is made clearer, and we know where we are. We catch a glimpse now of the ultimate destination of that school which calls itself *par excellence* the School of the Reformation.

It is unfortunate for Mr. Jeremy Taylor that such is his name; for to possess it must provoke comparisons which, to the very highest among us, cannot be other than invidious. With such an abatement, this gentleman's "Anglican Church Vindicated," (Ollivier), is, on the whole, a satisfactory reply to d'Aubigné's "Geneva and Oxford." Satisfactory, that is, rather in the object than in the execution; for we seem to find Mr. Taylor's views on justification not a little clouded. The work seems to have been written for a review, and the style is anything but clear.

"An Address to the Members of St. Jude's Congregation, Glasgow, by the Rev. C. P. Miles, Presbyter of the Church of England," (Glasgow, Bryce), is only another, and, if possible, debased, repetition of the Drummond and Dunbar Schism. In its results this matter is deserving, as it has elicited, a tolerably energetic Pastoral, addressed to the same congregation, from Bishop Russell, (Glasgow, Maclehose), in an Appendix to which will be found a valuable disavowal of the Scotch schismatics by the Bishop of London. We are glad to find that Mr. Robert Montgomery has taken the right side on this question.

"The Wars of Jehovah in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, in Nine Books" (Baisler), by Thomas Hawkins, Esq. Here we see language in her power. She was weak in Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton. "Half her strength she put not forth" till Mr. Hawkins elicited it. In nomenclature, especially, the mixture of the terrible and sublime is portentous :—

" As Delos Neptune, when he smote it with
His trident hard consolidating ; forth
Innumerable hippogryphons rushed,
Gorgons, chimæras with begilded horns,
And harpy birds or beasts—Philoctetes
Ne'er saw in his lone island half the like.
Creatures with scraggy skulls and jaunty jambs,
Speechless to see, envenomed giant gins
Scabbed Scolopendriums—semivitals big
Alligatorians.
Enchased were some with lineaments misturned,
Ten-tusked and hydra-headed : winged vults,
Blue, black, or red-winged, vult-like gryphons worked
The air with mania gladness : starting eyes
And lolling tongues had some : the incubi,
Like mounts of flesh, whilst some came serpentine
With never-ending involutions, wide
Of nostril, and blood-red their shaggy jaws,
Ravining and bloated, virulent and wrathful."

Mr. Hawkins gives an index of the "images and proper names used in this Epic Poem," at the end. Under A, we have Acarynthimos, Adrastus, Admetus, Abyss, Abhorrence, Ahithophel, Agayuthimos, Agaphine, Aphnotine, Aphasac, Atropos, Atoncryntal.—A slip out of B runs, Beelzebub, Berenice, Bithymin, Birman, Biscayan, Blanc-Mont, Black-Sea, Blasphemy, Blank, Blackness, Blast. The poem is 14,000 lines long, and never flags an instant.

Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, for 1844, "On the Means of Grace" (Oxford, Parker), have appeared. This writer's theology is so well known, that we did not look for more than a technical exposition of the ordinary *Via Media* doctrines. Our expectations have not been disappointed ; though the reading displayed in the composition seems somewhat meagre. It is not to be wondered at, that in a scheme necessarily confined by a strict reference to our actual state, public censure and personal discipline, as means towards regaining lost gifts, or expanding privileges in the baptized, occupy a position so distant and ill-defined in the present inquiry. Such we feel convinced that Dr. Jelf will admit was not the case in the early Church ; to say nothing of other ages.

Mr. Murray, Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has published a well-meant little book of verses, called "An Alphabet of Emblems," (Rivingtons).

Charges by the Primate, the Bishops of Chester, and Gloucester and Bristol, (Rivingtons) have appeared. These documents will become useful illustrations of present phenomena.

Of a temper inconceivably opposite to that almost "denominational" as well as national one displayed in Dr. Jelf's volume is that of his brother canon. Dr. Pusey's collection of devotional works, of which we have to acknowledge a most subduing volume in Avrillon's "Guide to Advent," (Burns), will not allow us to despair of our Church,—of which the respected editor has taken occasion to speak so dutifully,—when such are of us, and such works meet with so much success. That they should meet with criticism,—and such criticism!—is not so much disheartening as significant.

With the later numbers of the "Lives of the English Saints" (Toovey) we are by no means satisfied. A variety of harassing subjects are introduced, often gratuitously, and generally in a way which seems to us hard, and, we are compelled to say it, offensive. As legends, which some only claim to be, we are not insensible of their use; and their historical value is generally curious and instructive. But had the series continued under the projected editorship with which it commenced, we feel convinced that both the tone and incidents would have been profitably modified. When we allude, more particularly, to the life of St. Wilfrid, we can afford, without misapprehension, to think that even the obvious purpose is defeated by such a mode of treating it.

Mr. Merle d'Aubigné has fired another shot, which has been translated under the misleading title, "Luther and Calvin, or the True Spirit of the Reformed Church," (Blackie, Glasgow); a singularly misappropriate one, as its whole gist is to show that there is no "Reformed Church." The original is sufficiently significant, "*La Luthéranisme et La Réforme, ou leur diversité essentielle à leur unité.*" And, since the Swiss preacher has adopted the convenient fallacy of personification, we have a right to inquire what the Auto-Lutheranism is? If Luther's Lutheranism, then what becomes of the old Lutheran anathema, "Rather a Papist than a Calvinist, rather a Mahomedan than a Reformed?" If Lutheranism such as it is, it were useless to spend much time in talking about the diversity between it and *la Réforme*. Anyhow, the notion of contradictory opposition being essential to unity shows that words are not the signs of ideas in Geneva. By unity, Mr. d'Aubigné means the negation of unity, at least in faith. We hope that this writer is not right in making us symbolize with what he calls "Reform," by reason of the Thirty-nine Articles.

The very heaviest book we ever were oppressed with,—and that is saying not a little,—is Southey's "Life of Dr. Bell," (Murray). Even the late Laureate's elastic spirit was bowed down by it, and we do not think that his son, to whom we owe the completion of the work, can claim to have inherited more than the hereditary portion of his father's literary powers. To be tedious, prolix, and ill-arranged are faults with which we are not disposed to quarrel, when we find that the abridged narrations drawn up by Dr. Bell's amanuensis for Southey's use, would, if printed, amount to fourteen large octavo volumes; and that this amanuensis has been incessantly employed since Dr. Bell's death in arranging this "vast and most formidable mass of materials" even into the abridged form of which the present compressed work, of three huge octavos, is the

result. For the production of this ponderous lump of biographical nothings, Dr. Bell, it is understood, left considerable pecuniary supplies. And what is the result? Dr. Bell has thought proper to enshrine, in the immortality of type, a reputation as contemptible as we ever met with. This man began life with nothing; he quitted it possessed of nearly 150,000*l.*, which he screwed out of various ecclesiastical preferments: 120,000*l.* he left to the foundation of an institution in Scotland, for the furtherance of the educational system known under his name, and the rest to various ostentatious purposes. With these noble means, he bequeathed an annuity of 100*l.* a-year to an unhappy sister, while, throughout his life, he doled out to his nearest relations the princely sums of 5*l.* and 10*l.* per annum apiece. He was married to a respectable wife, and separated from her; he was presented to noble Church preferments, and all but prosecuted for misappropriation of the revenues of Sherburn Hospital; and his sole claim to distinction was the invention of the monitorial or Madras system, of which it is questionable whether, morally, it has not done more to ruin true Christian education than any popular delusion of the day. Mean, selfish, covetous, quarrelsome, and vain, without natural affection and without charity,—this is the temper which Dr. Bell was so desirous that the world should be acquainted with. It is a sad picture of the past generation, when such a man as this was one of the Church's popular idols. The only quotable things are two or three wonderfully good letters in the second volume, from Mr. Sikes, of Guilsborough, caused by some ignorant nonsense which Dr. Bell had uttered about the Church in Scotland.

Two, and each successful, volumes of the "Juvenile Englishman's Library," (Rugeley, Walters), Mr. Paget's capital series, have appeared. "Tales of the Village Children, Second Part," by the editor, in which "Merry Andrew" is a most affecting tale, and Mr. J. M. Neale's "Triumphs of the Cross," one, we think, of his best attempts.

The "Canticles in the Prayer Book, with the Gregorian Tones," (Oxford, Parker), is a cheap and useful little manual,—the best, indeed, of the kind we have seen. It establishes the right method of Gregorian chanting; while, as far as it goes, it gives the tones in their correct form. We doubt not that ere long the old, simple mode of chanting the Psalter will become common in our churches. While we have such mistaken publications as those of Mr. Hullah's Psalter widely disseminated among us, it is high time that we had something better to fall back upon; and we are glad, therefore, to hear that the editors of the present little work are about to supply the desideratum.

Among the holiday books suitable for presents at this season, Mr. Burns takes the lead by his various illustrated publications. Beginning at the beginning, the "Nursery Rhymes" are first in dignity and place: the engravings are chiefly by one of our best artists, whose powers we have more than once respectfully acknowledged. It is quite a lordly book. Some future "Appeal" by an antiquarian purist is probably in store: but since the traditional legends have not been enshrined in a received text, the present alterations may be venial while they are conceived in a proper

spirit. Mr. Bellenden Ker and Mr. Halliwell must preserve the ancient forms: but the present edition is the real "blessing to mothers." Some inaccuracies which have been pointed out show that the Rhapsodist, like his Scian master, has been occasionally nodding. In the song of the "Five Fingers," the juvenile authorities assure us, and our own experience confirms their experimental criticism, that it is the "ringman" who "can't dance alone." We detect another grievous innovation: on the authority of the Arundines Cami we pronounce that the bush into which the wondrous man of Thessaly jumped was not "a quickset hedge," as the present editor, No. 140, with temerity more than Benteian, corrects the passage, but a "gooseberry-bush." The original is, of course, the noble Aristophanic ἀκανθοχρηνοκοκκόβατον. Acutissimi et reverendissimi viri, Samuelis Butler, τοῦ μακαρίτου, cujus tot præclaræ exstant lectiones, textum recepimus, quo nihil certius nobis videtur. Perperam Burnsius, infelicitè et audacter necnon imperite et mendose, "quickset hedge:" nuperi editoris emendatio sibilis excipi digna est, et longe insulsissimam eam judicamus. Quis vir emunctæ naris est, cui non aridet, Thessaliensem istum sapientissimum gulæ causâ in grossulariam se avidum coniecisse? [E schedis Brunckianis.]

Intended for another class of readers is a republication of Massinger's noble play, "The Virgin Martyr." (Burns.) Mr. Pickersgill's drawings have been so admirably cut on wood, that not a few experienced persons have mistaken the material of the engraving. They are certainly the very best which we have seen. Great praise must be awarded to the artist, who has displayed wonderful freedom of pencil; though, considering the subject, the outline is rather too delicate, soft, and flowing. A little more abruptness and severity—straight lines, and heavier masses, would have suited the solemnity of the tale of martyrdom: at least, so we think. In such a case we seek an austere rather than a romantic feeling. The standing figure of Dorothea is certainly deficient in dignity, because in height.

Mr. Owen Jones's edition of the "Sermon on the Mount" (Longman), as a Christmas book, we cannot better characterise than rubrication and illumination gone mad. Never was such a display of ambitious ignorance in the way of ornamental illustration. This process of colour-painting on stone promises to become a nuisance: being cheap, ambitious, and incorrect. The same may be said for "Prayers for Children," (Smith).

"The Mother's Primer" (Longman), by Mrs. Felix Summerly—is this unnecessary pseudonym to go on for ever?—is much better. The coloured inks are odd rather than correct; but the frontispiece is very pretty.

The article from our last number on the "Poor in Scotland" has been reprinted, with additions, under the sanction of its author's name.

"The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery;" a Fifth of November Sermon by Mr. Close. (Hatchard.) A flagrant falsehood in the way of title; and since, in the execution of his subject, Mr. Close (p. 11) so appositely cites Scripture, "I speak as a fool," we care not to disturb his self-convicted judgment. Were not the whole thing too contemptible for criticism

we would ask the more respectable of Mr. Close's party what they think of the decency of reading, commenting upon, and abusing, whole pages of—the Ecclesiologist!—in the house of God, even though the occasion were the squib and cracker celebration of Guy Fawkes? What if any of us were to fire off sermons against the Parker Society, or the "Record," by name? Nothing can more forcibly illustrate Mr. Close's theory of Churches, than the use he puts them to. This is truly the "lunatic asylum" view at work. On this great Protestant festival of St. William of Orange, we wonder why Roman-candles and Catharine-wheels are not prohibited; both have a Popish twang, and the latter, being both Popish and architectural, must, we should say, be especially distasteful to the incumbent of Cheltenham.

While the Cambridge Camden Society is before us, we may mention Mr. Paley's "Church Restorers," (Van Voorst.) We have so often, and so strongly, deprecated the religious tale in all its forms, that we can only say that the present work does not call upon us to reverse our judgment. It has all the faults of its class; some of them even exaggerated, such as the introduction of miracles. And practically it will convey a very unreal impression by representing church restoration as an easy task, which none who have tried it find. The unrighteous opposition to the Camden Society itself, in the matter of St. Sepulchre's, might have taught Mr. Paley to have been less profuse in his rose-colour. It is not with the subject, so much as with the form, that we quarrel. The information is very valuable.

From the same publisher and author is announced "A Manual of Gothic Mouldings," and here Mr. Paley's technical lore is quite at home. In this volume we understand that Mr. Paley has produced a standard work, which will meet with all the success it deserves. It is to be recommended without hesitation.

"A Christian Kalendar," by a lay member of the Cambridge Camden Society, with brief notes (Walters), is, we presume, the publication to which a recent letter, on the part of the president, repudiating its connexion with the society, alludes. We think the president right. It is quite true that in fact the announcement of such membership means nothing; but it seeks to convey an impression, and often one with which neither member nor society would be satisfied.

"Eothen," (Ollivier), a smart-looking volume on Eastern travel, is the most offensive book which we have met with for some time. It is lively, just as a monkey is—and pictorial after the teaboard fashion. It is a compound of Voltaire, Smollett, Mrs. Trollope, and a Byronized cynicism, which defies classification. There are some semi-erotic passages about the Blessed Virgin Mary which are worse than disgusting. Travel in the Holy Land is an awful probation: the present author has sunk under it, and we regret to find that he has had the benefit of Eton and other Christian training.

Very different in tone and purpose is "The Holy Land," (Seeley,) a compilation historical and topographical, which we should have recom-

mended unconditionally, were it not for certain flippancies of the "lively Stephens" (p. 173), and the "enlightened Robinson" with regard to the sacred sites of Jerusalem, which are as distressing as they are silly. The references should have been made.

Mr. Robert Montgomery probably neither expects nor wishes us to review "The Three Parties," &c., being an extract from the "Gospel before the Age." (Mitchell.) This trisection of the theological angle is no wonderful discovery; seeing that in most moral questions there are those who say that black is black—those who say that black is white—and those who say, "Can't we split the difference?"—i. e. the whitey-brown school.

We should like to call especial attention to what ought to have more than a local reputation, Mr. Formby's "Extracts from a Sermon, preached at Ruardeane, relative to a proposed dismemberment of the Parish." (Hough, Coleford.) It is surprising how little notice has been attracted by these forced divisions of parishes, contrary to the will of incumbents and people. We owe Mr. Formby some thanks for making a stout protest against a ruling and popular error; indeed, this is not his first appeal for forgotten, but ancient, principles. Mr. Formby's present distress is attributable not a little to the silence which, in worse days, accompanied the Church Commission's most miserable line-and-compass work with our ancient and Catholic dioceses. The sermon dwells strongly on the divine sanction of *institution* to a cure: and seems to hint that if aliens from our communion, while they admit our orders, deny our mission or jurisdiction, we surrender their whole argument, if we permit an interfering priest to seize upon a portion of our flocks, without, or against, our consent. Surely it becomes all the Clergy to be as strenuous in defence of their divine overseership as of their unbroken succession; but somehow we have come to think that the former can be interfered with by the gentlemen in Great George-street just as Acts of Parliament please. Even the favourite scheme of dividing parishes may have its latent errors, as witness some at least of those who take it up. Church Reform is a pretty thing in the abstract: but a little Canon Law, and deference to ancient ecclesiastical *principles*, would not hurt those who in Church Reform only find a means for the creation of new benefices. Has any one reckoned how many pieces of preferment the recent Church Extension Act has given to the government of Sir Robert Peel?

In some degree connected with this subject, may be recommended, Mr. Turnbull's "Parochial Disorganization," (J.W. Parker), which, with reference to a particular parish, records a state of things sufficiently perplexing.

That excellent collection, "The Churches in Yorkshire" (Leeds, Green), has finished one volume, and commenced another under the superintendence of Mr. Poole. Patrington seems a beautiful church. The lithographs are rather too pictorial for studies in the way of example—measured outlines are the only thing to rely upon.

The "Life of Isaac Milner" (Seeley) is only an abridgement—and few biographies so much required compression—of a larger work, which has been freely and fully noticed in a former number.

"Tractarianism not of God," by Charles B. Tayler, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Chester. (Longman.) Mr. Tayler says, "I know of no one whose natural heart was more inclined than my own to approve the doctrines of the Tractarian party, or whose natural taste was more disposed to be captivated by the seducing appeals to the imagination which they put forth." He adds, "I do not say that all is error in Tractarianism, but error is so intermingled with truth, that an utter confusion is produced as to all clear and scriptural doctrine. The system is like the web of a fabric in which the worthless materials have been so commonly interwoven with pure gold," &c. &c.—"*Tractarianism not of God.* I write these words with deep sorrow of heart, for I think of the many gentle and amiable spirits who are to be found in the ranks of the Tractarian."—Mr. Tayler must allow us to return the compliment. There is a real pleasure in having such an amiable opponent as Mr. Tayler: as Shakspeare expresses it,—*"I pray chide a year together."*

Without committing ourselves to every word of Mrs. Toogood's "Religious Lessons for Children," (Rivingtons), we can safely say that it is among the very best of a good class. We recommend it without hesitation.

A new (the sixth) volume of "Plain Sermons," by the authors of the "Tracts for the Times," has appeared. It requires no recommendation.

Besides the sermons already noticed, we desire to mention with great satisfaction, one by Mr. Macmullen, preached at the Exeter School Meeting. (Hannaford.) "The New Birth," by Mr. Henry Robinson, of Dudcote, is sound, but not remarkable (Parker and Rivingtons). Various discourses by Mr. Garbett (Hatchard), preached at all sorts of places, and for all sorts of purposes, are very much the contrary, *i. e.* remarkable and unsound. Other valuable volumes have just arrived. Dr. Moberley's "School Sermons," (Rivingtons); Dr. Wordsworth's "Discourses on Public Education," (Rivingtons), delivered at Harrow,—it must have required some courage to preach about Aristophanes in church,—which, for obvious reasons, we class together, since the good work of reforming public schools goes on most hopefully. Mr. R. W. Evans's "Parochial Sermons." (Rivingtons.) Among single sermons, we have received Dr. Hook's "Take heed what ye hear;" Mr. Samuel Wilberforce's "Consecration Sermon," preached at Farnham, and elsewhere, (Burns); and of importance equal to any, Mr. Cheyne's "Holiness the true Reforming Power of the Church," (Aberdeen, Brown), which has, and most deservedly, reached its second edition.

[A pressure of important matter has obliged us,—though our number extends several sheets beyond the average quantity,—to omit a variety of notices which are in type.]